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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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1 August 1984

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL

### UKRAINIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ON UNESCO PARTICIPATION

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 12 May 84 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kochubey, chairman of UkrSSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs, UkSSR deputy minister for foreign affairs: "In Favor of the Peaceful Cooperation of Nations"]

[Text] On 12 May it will be exactly 30 years since the Ukrainian SSR joined the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO). This is one of the most universal international organizations of our era--161 nations are members. During the last decades UNESCO has become a center of international collaboration in the field of education, science, culture and information, these being the four basic directions of its activity.

During the first period that this important intergovernmental organization of the UN existed, representatives of the U.S.A. and other western countries seized the management of its activities. They sought to limit the organization's activity to deciding minor individual issues that were alienated from the truly gigantic pressing problems that had emerged before the entire world in the post-war years. Such a course was contrary to the interests of humanity's overwhelming majority, but at that time its voice was not being heard in UNESCO forums: after all, many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were still colonial dependents, and their demands and needs were not taken into consideration.

It should be noted at once that in those years, and later too, the United States did not overlook the opportunity to use this organization for its political purposes. It is for this reason that current complaints by the American representatives about the "politicization" of UNESCO, cited as one of the U.S. reasons for leaving this organization, sound so hypocritical. Actually, what they don't like is not "politicization" but that policy which, in line with the will of humanity's overwhelming majority, UNESCO is now upholding, a policy directed toward preserving peace, preventing a nuclear catastrophe and toward development of mutually profitable scientific and cultural collaboration among peoples.

The entry of the USSR, UkSSR and BSSR into UNESCO was immediately reflected in the organization's program and activity. Thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries, it addressed genuine and important contemporary problems,

resolution of which is of interest to all people on earth. First of all, these are issues of ensuring peace, ceasing the arms race, ending colonialism, racism, apartheid, social and cultural backwardness inherited by countries of the so-called "third world" from the times of colonial oppression; and questions of assisting in egalitarian mutually advantageous collaboration in resolving problems of a global nature. We have in mind those problems which were directly outlined at the 26th CPSU Congress as the object of peaceful cooperation. In question are energy, ecological and food programs, world-wide elimination of illiteracy, development of space and the oceans, and preservation of cultural heritage.

As the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized, "the recent years have been noted for the harsh intensification of politics by the most aggressive forces of American imperialism, a policy of unconcealed militarism, claims for world domination, resistance to progress and destruction of peoples' rights and freedom." In this context, efforts directed toward carrying out UNESCO's mandated obligations on preserving peace and international security by means of promoting cooperation among nations within the framework of its competence acquires a special significance.

True to the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy, socialist countries support UNESCO activity directed toward strengthening peace and cooperation. At the last 22nd session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union together with other socialist countries introduced a whole series of important proposed resolutions concerning UNESCO's role for promoting peace, ending the arms race, eliminating colonialism and racism, and expediting egalitarian mutually advantageous cultural and scientific forms of cooperation. These drafts served as the basis of resolutions approved by the General Assembly.

The 40th anniversary of the end of World War II will be observed in 1985--that great tragedy in the history of mankind, the memory of which will never be erased. The Soviet Union has offered a draft resolution "On UNESCO measures in connection with the 40th anniversary of the end of the World War II," in which all member-nations of the organization are invited to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory by freedom-loving nations over fascism in a general and solemn fashion and to express the respect of today's generations for the veterans, creators of victory. In spite of the negative attitude of some western delegations, particularly the USA, toward this draft on the pretext that it is supposedly too "political," the Assembly approved the proposal.

Increased UNESCO activity in the information field calls in causing ferocious hatred in reactionaries of every stripe. It obviously is not to their liking that this organization, reflecting the will of the majority of the world's nations, has come out for a new and fairer international information order, so as to end the displays of "information imperialism."

It is well-known that today the imperialist countries of the West control the press, television, radio, film rentals and book distribution in many developing nations, imposing not only their policy on them but also their value system and even life-style, and thus destroying their cultural distinctiveness. All

this is done under cover of the spurious slogan "free flow of information." But what kind of freedom can one speak of when only two American corporations --the Associated Press and United Press--control 70 percent of news collection, processing and distribution in the capitalist world, while in many liberated countries the national mass media are embryonic?! UNESCO's efforts to provide at least some kind of measures for reducing the existing inequality and disproportion have caused a stream of calumniating attacks and threats on the part of the imperialistic forces to quit UNESCO, and in this way to deprive it of financial resources. The world community condemns this crude blackmail with regard to a meritorious and useful international organization.

The Ukrainian SSR participates actively in the adoption of decisions in UNESCO forums and in carrying out its programs. When the biennial work programs and interim plans are adopted, our republic's delegations propose drafts for resolutions which are supported by representatives of other UNESCO countries.

Participation of our specialists in this organization's program of activity is coordinated by the UkSSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs. In order to carry out specific intergovernmental programs committees have been named; these committees are quite active. Among them should be mentioned the committees for the "Man and Biosphere" program, the programs for geological cooperation, hydrology, study of the world oceans, and for the study and dissemination of Slavic cultures.

On numerous occasions, UkSSR delegates have brought many issues (of interest to large circles of specialists in many lands) to the attention of UNESCO's General Conference sessions. For instance, at the 22nd session we offered proposals for further study of the effectiveness of scientific work, for native language study and instruction as an educational and cultural tool, and for utilizing holography in museum work. Ukrainian specialists share their knowledge and experience with foreign colleagues, taking part in seminars and symposia organized by UNESCO; they prepare training aids, develop methodologies and research monographs and, in their turn, learn within this framework of mutually advantageous cooperation.

With our participation, UNESCO does a lot to popularize Ukrainian culture. In just a recent period this international organization has published L. N. Novichenko's essay on T. G. Shevchenko and a work on Ukrainian wood sculpture; issues of the periodicals UNESCO COURIER and MUSEUM dedicated to Kiev on the occasion of its 1500th anniversary. A monograph on the art of ancient Kiev, an anthology of Soviet Ukrainian poetry, and a number of other works by our specialists are being prepared for publication. At the organization's headquarters, various measures are likewise being carried out which will facilitate popularization of the Soviet Ukraine's achievements in the field of education, science and cultural development.

The Ukrainian SSR's thirty-year experience of participation in UNESCO action convinces us of the fact that this organization, despite some of its weaknesses and shortcomings, possesses a great positive potential and can bring a significant contribution to the development of international cooperation, to the struggle to strengthen peace, and to mutual understanding and trust among nations.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### FOREIGN MINISTRY DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY HOLDS CONFERENCE

Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 3, Mar 84 p 158

[Article by V. Morozov: "Conference at the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] On 14 December 1983 a scientific conference, organized by the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was held on the topic "The Struggle of the USSR to Strengthen International Security and Peace in the 1980s." Teachers and students at the Diplomatic Academy, employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and leading specialists of the USSR Academy of Sciences attended.

After describing the current international situation in his introductory speech, the Rector of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy, Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy, noted that at the present time the countries of the socialist community constitute the real fundamental force capable of protecting mankind from the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that it is insane and an irresponsibly rash act involving playing with the destiny of mankind for any state to base its policy on the calculation of a nuclear war and its victory. The important thing now is to save the world and eliminate the danger of war. The USSR is focusing its foreign policy efforts on this, the Peace Program for the 1980s promoted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy discussed the goals which face contemporary scholars and specialists in international affairs. First and foremost these involve systematic elucidation and propaganda of the peace-loving foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state, analysis from the Marxist standpoint of the most important problems of contemporary international life, explanation of the danger of the arms race, unleashed by the imperialists, and exposure of the myth of the "Soviet war threat."

Professor V.A. Karpushin gave a speech devoted to the problems of ideological struggle and the goals of Soviet counter-propaganda in the light of the June (1983) resolution of the Plenum of the CC CPSU. The participants at the conference paid a great deal of attention to the role of coordination of activity by the socialist countries under the complex conditions of current international relations. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy

of Sciences, Yu. S. Shiryaev and Candidate of Historical Sciences A.V. Vakhrameyev gave reports on this theme.

It was emphasized in the course of discussion at the conference that the further growth of economic power on the part of CMEA countries gives an additional impetus to the joint resolution of foreign policy goals and the strengthening of the defense capacity of countries in the socialist community. The speakers also noted that in recent years the tendency toward unity on the part of the Western countries has intensified. As a result, steps are being taken to supplement political coordination with the coordination of foreign economic policy.

The Pro-rector of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy, Doctor of Historical Sciences G. A. Vorontsev, devoted his speech to the key question of the present time--the prevention of nuclear war. Professor G.L. Rozanov spoke at the conference on "The Internal Political Struggle in the FRG over the Problems of Placing American Medium-Range Rockets." An analysis of the fundamental problems confronting the USSR in its struggle to limit and reduce strategic arms was made in a report by Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. G. Strel'tsov.

The conference participants listened with interest to the speeches of Professor Yu.V. Borisov on Soviet-French relations and V.P. Nikhamin on cooperation by the USSR with developing countries in the new conditions of the international situation.

In the reports and speeches at the conference, an analysis was given of the actual problems of current international relations, the vital questions of economic cooperation with states having different social systems and the fundamental areas significantly aggravating the ideological struggle in our time in the world arena, which constitutes one of the forms of confrontation of the two social systems. In this connection, the imperative necessity of actively repelling the ideological diversion of imperialism was stressed.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SOUTH AFRICA SAID TO USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN ANGOLA

Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 3, Mar 84 pp 146-147

[Article by S. Pomerantsev: "Defending the Achievements of the Revolution"]

[Text] Continuing their policy of exacerbating the situation in southern Africa and destabilizing the progressive regimes in the region, the South African racists unleashed large-scale intervention against the People's Republic of Angola at the end of last year. In point of fact, Pretoria's new criminal activities constitute a further dangerous step in the series of unceasing aggressive actions by the RSA. Since 1976 it has carried out about 3,000 attacks on Angola, while since August 1981 the racist army of the RSA has occupied the southern areas of the republic in the province of Kunene.

The new criminal action is distinguished by particular barbarity. In gross violation of international agreements, the RSA army has employed chemical weapons on Angolan soil, including highly toxic nerve agents. Many densely populated points of the country have been subjected to rocket and air strikes and artillery fire. There are a great many victims among the peaceful populace; houses, hospitals and schools have been destroyed.

At an emergency session of the UN Security Council, called at the request of Angola, the insolent activities of the racists were characterized as "a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity" of this country. There was resolute discussion at the session about the complicity of American imperialism in the aggressive policy of the RSA, which has permitted the racists to ignore blatantly the demands of the international body. As the representative of Ethiopia, A. Seifu, declared, Pretoria, with open insolence, tells the whole world that the decision of the UN Security Council does not worry it in the least while the U.S.A. and other Western countries remain on its side.

In the meantime, Washington has again confirmed its policy of full support for the criminal aggression, refusing to support the resolution of the UN Security Council. Moreover, by threatening to cast a veto, the U.S.A. and its allies did everything possible to remove from the projected resolution proposed by the non-aligned states the question of the initiation of sanctions against the racist regime. The fact is highly characteristic too that at the time when the racists were committing excesses on Angolan soil, H. Roberto was

being received without a trace of embarrassment in Washington; he is the ringleader of the schismatic Angolan group FNLA which, like the other bandit organization, UNITA, headed by J. Savimbi, is fighting hand in hand with South African forces against the people's power in the PRA.

As has been noted in the foreign press, the United States has not even shrunk from providing actual training for racist aggression; American specialists took part in the execution of this large-scale operation codenamed "Lotos-83." The aim of the operation, in the opinion of foreign observers, consisted of destabilizing the situation in the PRA, seizing southern Angola up to the Bengel railroad and creating an "independent republic" there, at the head of which the U.S.A. and the RSA planned to place Savimbi.

A powerful rebuff by the Angolan armed forces and decisive protests by the international community, however, prevented the racists from implementing their plans.

Attempting to fool the world community, Pretoria gave assurances to the effect that it was ostensibly starting to withdraw South African forces from Angolan territory. But there are all the reasons to doubt the sincerity of the racists' intentions, as they have wallowed in lies time and again. Thus, for example, their assertions were totally at a variance with the facts when the racist bandits, by means of regular invasions, pursued their aim of liquidating bases of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) ostensibly found on the territory of the PRA.

"These were not mythical 'partisan bases,' but peaceful Angolan cities and villages which were subjected to barbaric massive bombardment and shelling," stressed R. Sapinya, commissar of the province of Uil (where the racists committed their crimes) and member of the CC MPLA--the party of labor. The SWAPO statement also indicated that no bases of this organization exist on RSA territory. In the meantime, the truth is that it is precisely the territory of unlawfully occupied Namibia that the RSA militarists have converted into a base for their aggressive activities against Angola.

"The MPLA--the Party of Labor and the government of the People's Republic of Angola are continuing to take active steps to secure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, to defend the revolutionary gains of the Angolan people from external aggression and to search for peaceful ways of implementing the UN Security Council's Resolution No. 435 on Namibia," stressed Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the PRA and Chairman of the MPLA--the Party of Labor, when he spoke at a session of the People's Assembly of the republic. Such is the principled position of Angola.

Washington and Pretoria take different approaches to the solution of the problems of southern Africa. As before, they insist on linking the question of granting independence to Namibia to expelling the contingent of Cuban internationalists from Angola. The racists and their American patrons pretend not to know that the Cuban units are in the PRA at the request and with the agreement of its legal government, in full accordance with the norms of international law, and are helping the Angolan people to repel the aggression of the RSA and its hirelings.

In this difficult time for the republic, its friends--the USSR, Cuba and other countries of the socialist community--are rendering comprehensive assistance to the people of Angola. In a statement issued by TASS, the resolute demands by the Soviet Union was expressed that all aggressive activity by the RSA against Angola cease--both direct and indirect--and that all South African forces be withdrawn from areas of the PRA occupied by them. At the joint Soviet-Angolan-Cuban consultations held at the beginning of this year in Moscow, solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people in defense of its revolutionary achievements was stressed. An agreement was reached on rendering assistance to the People's Republic of Angola with respect to strengthening its defense capacity, independence and territorial integrity.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PARTIAL TEXT OF 15 MAY ANTI-ZIONIST COMMITTEE PRESS CONFERENCE

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 21, 23 May 84 p 13

[Press conference by the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public on 15 May 1984 held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] A press conference by the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public was held for Soviet and foreign journalists in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center on 15 May 1984. The following people participated in it: Colonel General D. A. Dragunskiy, committee chairman and two-time Hero of the Soviet Union; Professor S. L. Zivs, first deputy chairman; Candidate of Juridical Sciences M. B. Krupkin, deputy chairman; Doctor of Economic Sciences I. P. Belyayev, deputy chairman and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA department manager; Yu. A. Kolesnikov, deputy chairman and writer; V. V. Pushkar-ev, member of the committee's presidium, grinder in the Moscow Punched-Card Machine Plant, and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; G. O. Zimanas, member of the committee's presidium, editor-in-chief of the KOMMUNISTAS magazine and Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Academician M. I. Kabachnik, member of the committee's presidium; O. N. Rybal'chenko, main secretary of the committee; A. L. Vergelis, committee member and editor-in-chief of the SOVETISH GEYMLAND magazine; L. B. Shkol'nik, editor-in-chief of the BIROBIDZHANER SHTERN newspaper; and others. V. M. Kamenev, deputy chief of the Press Department, conducted the press conference.

Below, we are publishing material from this press conference in a somewhat condensed version.

D. A. DRAGUNSKIY. We met with you a year ago when the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public was organized. Its establishment evoked broad support among Soviet citizens.

The ideas of the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union permeate the entire activity of our committee. As K. U. Chernenko, general

secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has pointed out, this friendship is "one of the most important accomplishments of socialism".

Comrades, gentlemen!

It is generally known that Zionism is multifaceted in its crimes. The methods, which are employed by it, are diverse. We have tried by our work to reveal the specific nature of its crimes and to show the perniciousness of Zionism's ideology and political practices. This was and remains the main factor in our work.

In waging battle against Zionism, we are trying to protect from its pernicious influence those on whom Zionist propaganda is counting, and we are struggling against its attempts to revive nationalist remnants in the people's consciousness and to undermine the moral and political unity of the Soviet people. That is why one of the aspects of the Anti-Zionist Committee's activity is to protect from Zionists and their agents those whom they have tried to persuade to go to Israel.

The Anti-Zionist Committee has constantly repulsed the provocative onslaughts which have been undertaken by Zionists and other reactionary circles under the guise of "defending" Soviet Jews.

The reactionary circles of the United States are especially zealous in this regard. The American president dares to talk about official anti-Semitism in the USSR. Our Soviet way of life completely refutes this lie. American society is being permeated more and more intensely by the poison of anti-Semitism.

I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION ONE THING MORE.

OUR ENEMIES ARE TRYING TO DEPICT THE FORMATION OF THE ANTI-ZIONIST COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET PUBLIC AS --THEY SAY-- A MANIFESTATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE ANYTHING MORE CYNICAL, OUTRAGEOUS AND PROVOCATORY! AN OBJECTIVE OBSERVER HAS HAD REPEATED OPPORTUNITIES TO STATE THAT OUR ENEMIES ARE PREPARED TO PASS OFF ANY CRITICISM OF ZIONISM AS A MANIFESTATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM. SIMILARLY, THE ZIONISTS INVARIABLY CALL ANY, EVEN THE SLIGHTEST, CRITICISM OF ISRAEL'S POLICIES ANTI-SEMITISM.

THE FORMS AND METHODS OF OUR COMMITTEE'S WORK ARE DIVERSE. THERE IS THE PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES AND BROCHURES AND THE SENDING ABROAD OF MATERIAL IN WHICH THE FRAUDS OF ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA ARE BROUGHT TO LIGHT.

WE PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO THE WORK WITH LETTERS. OUR BROCHURE "WHAT DO THE LETTERS TALK ABOUT" HAS JUST BEEN PUBLISHED. THOSE, WHO WISH TO DO SO CAN OBTAIN IT AFTER THE END OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

OUR COMMITTEE IS RECEIVING MANY LETTERS INCLUDING ONES FROM ABROAD. THE WORK OF OUR COMMITTEE IS RECEIVING BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT.

Today, we have every basis for directing in the name of our committee a call to all people of good will to combine their efforts for the sake of further unmasking the criminal policies of international Zionism.

V. G. FISHER, metal worker and tool maker in the Moscow Subway Pilot-Production Electromechanical Plant.

I belong to the multinational working class of the Soviet country, which completely supports the nationality policy of the CPSU. We wholeheartedly support the activity of the anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public.

I MYSELF HAVE WORKED AS A METAL WORKER AND TOOL MAKER SINCE FINISHING A TRADE SCHOOL IN 1942. I HAVE WORKED IN ONE PLANT FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS.

I WANT TO STATE WITH ALL CERTAINTY THAT WE, THE WORKERS, ARE FILLED WITH INDIGNATION BY THE SLANDER AGAINST OUR COUNTRY, WHICH HAS BEEN DISSEMINATED BY THE ZIONISTS.

THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE DESTROYED ANY BANS AND LIMITATIONS SUCH AS THE NOTORIOUS "JEWISH PALE". THE JEWS HAVE BECOME AN ORGANIC COMPONENT PART OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

HOWEVER, UNINVITED ADVOCATES FROM THE RANKS OF ZIONIST FIGURES DELIBERATELY DISTORT THE FACTS OF OUR WAY OF LIFE AND COUNT ON SOWING DISTRUST AMONG THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

ALL OF THIS EVOKES THE JUSTIFIED AND IRATE INDIGNATION OF OUR SOVIET COMMUNITY.

I WISH TO STATE IN THE NAME OF ALL WORKERS THAT ANY ATTEMPTS TO INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE USSR UNDER THE GUISE OF A WORTHLESS RACKET ABOUT "THE CONDITION OF SOVIET JEWS" ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE.

N. I. GRINBERG, a student in the Mechanical and Mathematical Department of the Moscow State University. As a representative of the younger generation, I would like to resolutely condemn the intrigues of the Zionists and their attempts to interfere in the affairs of our country and to influence the minds of our young people.

It is well known that subversive propaganda profits by the far-fetched question of "awakening national self-consciousness" in young people of Jewish extraction.

They say in the West that apparently Jewish youth "have their rights infringed upon" in the Soviet Union and that they are "discriminated against".

They proclaim that the doors to a higher education are allegedly closed to young Jews.

There are people who are ready to believe such a blatant lie.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE PARIS NEWSPAPER LE MONDE RECENTLY WROTE THAT JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT PERMITTED IN MATHEMATICS VUZ, IN PARTICULAR, IN THE MECHANICS AND MATHEMATICS DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY. ONE CAN ONLY LAUGH AT THIS LIE.

YOU SEE, HOWEVER, WITH THE HELP OF THESE STATEMENTS, THE ZIONISTS WANT TO FILL US WITH A COMPOSITE OF RESENTMENT AND SUSPICION AND TO PUT US OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OTHER NATIONALITIES -- IN A WORD, TO ISOLATE US AT FIRST MORALLY AND THEN TO PROVOKE THE DESIRE TO LEAVE OUR MOTHERLAND.

SINCE CHILDHOOD, WE HAVE BEEN REARED SO THAT THE THOUGHT OF CALCULATING THE PERCENTAGE OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES DOES NOT ENTER INTO OUR HEADS, INCLUDING THAT AMONG VUZ STUDENTS.

AS A MATHEMATICIAN, I AM CONVINCED THAT MATHEMATICS IS NOT SUITED TO DETERMINE THE DEGREE OF JUSTICE OR FREEDOM. CAN LOVE FOR THE MOTHERLAND BE REALIY DETERMINED BY MATHEMATICAL CALCULATIONS? NO, ARGUMENTS ARE NOT REQUIRED TO LOVE THE MOTHERLAND. LOVE FOR THE LAND WHERE ONE WAS BORN AND GREW UP IS THE NATURAL FEELING OF ANY SOVIET INDIVIDUAL NO MATTER TO WHAT NATIONALITY HE BELONGS.

We have been reared in a spirit of internationalism by our entire way of life.

We value that which the Soviet authorities have given to us. We do not need any other motherland.

A QUESTION FROM A POLISH INTERPRESS PRESS AGENCY CORRESPONDENT: ZIONIST PROPAGANDA AND THE WESTERN MASS INFORMATION MEDIA ARE CONTINUING TO ASSERT THAT THE RIGHTS OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE BEING INFRINGED UPON IN THE CULTURAL AREA. WHAT IS BEHIND SUCH ASSERTIONS?

A. L. VERGELIS. I will allow myself to answer the question with a question in accordance with an old Jewish custom. What essentially does Jewish culture represent; what is it? I am talking this way about it primarily because I am a writer. If books are written, if they are being published, and if they are being read, this means that literature exists. I must say to you that Jewish literature is developing normally now in only one country -- the Soviet Union. There is not another country in Europe which could place on the table such a number of books and new works in Yiddish. I will now show you the latest books that have been published in the Yiddish language in the Soviet Union. Here is a unique publication -- it is a Russian-Jewish (Yiddish) dictionary which was published by an authoritative publisher in Moscow. And here is a book which is already known to you. It is an ABC-book. See the two poles; an ABC-book for children and a dictionary for adults. The SOVETISH GEYMLAND magazine has been publishing Yiddish lessons for many years. A large collective of artists and illustrators of Jewish books is working in Moscow and in the other republics. Thus, there is no area of Soviet Jewish culture which is not being developed in our country.

New theatrical productions are making audiences happy. The Jewish Chamber Music Theater from Birobidzhan has completed, for example, a new production of "Fiddler on the Roof" based on the motifs in the well known work of Sholom-Aleichem. The Jewish National Theater put on a new musical spectacular "Buffoons from Brod" in Vilnius during March of this year. The Melodiya firm regularly issues records with recordings of Jewish folk music.

This spring, the 125th anniversary of the birth of Sholom-Aleichem, a classic writer of Jewish literature, was widely celebrated in our country. In the Soviet Union, the works of Sholom-Aleichem have been published 542 times in 24 languages with a total edition of 9,500,000 copies. Permit me to ask in what country (perhaps in the United States or in Israel?) has such an edition been published of the works of even one Jewish writer?

A QUESTION FROM A NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY CORRESPONDENT: IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY REPORTED THAT LETTERS FROM FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS HAVE ARRIVED IN THE ANTI-ZIONIST COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET PUBLIC. ARE THESE LETTERS CONTINUING TO ARRIVE?

S. L. ZIVS. Yes, quite a few letters, which come from former Soviet citizens abroad, are in the mailbox of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public.

Here are these letters. They have come from Austria, from the United States and from Belgium. Here is the latest letter which arrived in April from Israel -- from the city of Kiryat Gat-- from the spouses V.

THE LETTERS FROM FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS, WHO HAD FALLEN AT ONE TIME UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ZIONIST PROPAGANDA, ARE FILLED WITH DESPAIR AND TRAGEDY. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE AUTHOR OF A LETTER, WHICH ALSO ARRIVED IN APRIL FROM WASHINGTON, WRITES THAT HE LIVES AS IF HE "HAD A MILLSTONE ABOUT HIS NECK".

THE MEMBERS OF ONE FAMILY, WHO LIVE IN VIENNA ON FUGBAKH GASSE STREET, DESCRIBE ALL OF THE CIRCLES OF THE UNDERWORLD THROUGH WHICH THEY HAVE PASSED. IT SAYS IN THEIR LETTER AND I QUOTE: "WE, WHO HAVE LIVED SO MANY YEARS IN A FOREIGN LAND AND WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED ALL THE DIFFICULTIES AND TORTURES WHICH REIGN IN A ZIONIST STATE WHERE A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP RULES AND WHERE EVERYTHING IS DIRECTED TOWARD THE OPPRESSION AND ENSLAVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE IN NEIGHBORING STATES, CONTINUE TO SUFFER...."

There are people here today who have returned to the Soviet Union after trying experiences and torments and who have experienced for themselves all of the charms of the "free world".

I suggest that you listen to one of them, Comrade G. A. Il'yayev.

G. A. IL'YAYEV. I am Gavriyel' Alishayevich Il'yayev, a Jew from Bukhara. I want to talk about my second birth. It occurred on 7 April 1983 exactly a year ago when I stepped off the plane's gangway at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport.

My children and grandchildren who had come from Tashkent, met me at the airport. Before embracing them, however, I got down on my knees and kissed the earth of my motherland. This occurred after an 11-year separation from my relatives and my motherland. In my heart, I call that day the day of my second birth.

In 1972, I did not listen to the advice and warnings of my relatives and friends not to go to Israel. I was intoxicated by stories about the heavenly manna which allegedly falls from heaven onto Israel. And with other such intoxicated ones, I left for Israel.

Eleven years in Israel -- it was torture, suffering and grief. They lodged me, an old man seriously ill with asthma, in a damp basement in Jerusalem. I only had enough money for milk and bread. I was forced to go to work as a bookbinder in my 75th year. There is no respect in Israel for such elderly people like myself. There, people look at each other like wolves.

There is a Bukharan synagogue in Jerusalem, but there is always swearing there.

I UNDERSTOOD VERY SOON THAT I HAD MADE A MISTAKE WHEN I ARRIVED IN ISRAEL. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT SO SIMPLE TO ESCAPE FROM ISRAEL. WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM FOR TICKETS? I HAD TO SELL ALL OF MY BELONGINGS WHICH I HAD BROUGHT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND PURCHASE AN AIRPLANE TICKET WITH THE NETTED MONEY.

I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU THE FOLLOWING. DO NOT THINK THAT MY LIFE IN ISRAEL WAS SOME KIND OF EXCEPTION. I PERSONALLY KNOW DOZENS AND DOZENS OF BUKHARAN JEWS WHO ARE LIVING IN ISRAEL AND WHO WAKE UP EACH DAY WITH ONLY ONE THOUGHT: HOW SHALL I FEED MY FAMILY?

THUS, FUZAYLOV, A DISABLED WAR VETERAN, CAME TO ISRAEL AT THE SUMMONS OF HIS BROTHER WHO WAS RESIDING THERE; HOWEVER, THE LATTER OFFERED HIM HIS APARTMENT FOR ONLY THREE DAYS. FUZAYLOV DIED FROM GRIEF AND POVERTY AFTER SIX MONTHS.

I cannot now remember all of the names, but the fate of many Bukaran Jews in Israel is almost identical.

I will tell you the truth; I will not lie. It is impossible to live in Israel. If it is as well there as the Zionist say, why does everyone, who can manage it, flee from there?

That, which I have now said to you, I have repeatedly said in Tashkent and in Bukhara. I will continue to say to Jews: "Do not listen to the Zionists, do not believe them. Everything, which they promise, is a fraud".

A QUESTION FROM AN IZVESTIYA CORRESPONDENT: DURING ONE RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WAS HELD IN THE WEST, IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WAS PLANNED TO HOLD IN MAY A MEETING OF THE SO-CALLED "INTER-PARLIAMENTARY GROUP TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS" INCLUDING THE RIGHTS OF SOVIET JEWS. WHAT IS YOUR RELATIONSHIP TO THIS GROUP?

V. V. PUSHKAREV. The formation and initiation of the activity of the so-called "inter-parliamentary group to defend human rights" represents just the usual kind of attempt to revitalize the West's propaganda campaign to "defend human rights" in the USSR -- a campaign which has discredited itself -- in order to distract world public opinion from the most urgent and vitally important problems of today.

IT IS ESPECIALLY NECESSARY TO POINT OUT THAT A REAL PRO-ZIONIST STATE OF AFFAIRS IS DISTINCTLY EVIDENT IN THE PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLANS OF THE SO-CALLED "INTER-PARLIAMENTARY GROUP". THE ANTI-COMMUNIST AND ANTI-SOVIET DIRECTION OF ZIONIST PROPAGANDA ESSENTIALLY FEEDS THE PLANS AND PROPAGANDISTIC THESES OF THE "INTER-PARLIAMENTARY GROUP".

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "INTER-PARLIAMENTARY GROUP TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS" REPRESENTS AN ATTEMPT BY ZIONIST CIRCLES TO INVOLVE PERSONS, WHO HAVE BEEN INVESTED WITH THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENTARIANS, AMONG THE KNIGHTS AND SWORD-BEARERS OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST "CRUSADE" AND TO INVOLVE THEM DIRECTLY IN ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA ACTIONS.

Despite the attempts to attach the nature of a semi-official body to the "inter-parliamentary group", it is quite evident that we are only talking about an unofficial association of people who in actuality do not have the authority to speak in the name of the national parliaments of their countries or in the name of any international organization.

It is only possible to express regret that the parliamentarians, who have been inveigled into the "inter-parliamentary group", have fallen into the trap of the Zionists.

A QUESTION FROM A NEDELYA WEEKLY CORRESPONDENT: WHAT CAN YOU SAY ABOUT THE DIRTY METHODS OF THE ZIONIST HAWKERS?

YU. A. KOLESNIKOV. The reactionary activity of international Zionism and the aggressive policy of the Zionist ruling circles in Israel with respect to the Arab people have been condemned by world public opinion as expansionist, terrorist and racist.

IT IS QUITE EVIDENT TODAY THAT ISRAEL CANNOT INSURE A NEW INFLUX OF HUMAN RESOURCES TO CONTINUE ITS POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND EXPANSIONISM.

HOWEVER, THE ZIONISTS ARE ORGANIZING CLAMOROUS MOBS AND ARE USING FALSE DOCUMENTS, BLACKMAIL, BRIBERY, AND PROMISES: THEY ARE NOT SQUEAMISH ABOUT THREATS AND EVEN COERCION-- IF ONLY TO CONTINUE THE ENTICING OF JEWS FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

THIS PROVOCATION, WHICH IS VERY MALICIOUS FROM BEGINNING TO END, IS INTENDED TO DRIVE A WEDGE INTO THE MULTINATIONAL FAMILY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLES AND TO EVOKE ANTI-SEMITISM.

IN A PERSONAL REGARD, IF ONE GOES INTO IT AS IS NECESSARY, THERE ARE BROKEN LIVES AND COUNTLESS TRAGEDIES. TERRIBLE TRAGEDIES!

IN A WORD, THE HANDS OF THE ZIONISTS ARE STAINED WITH BLOOD. THIS IS CLEAR TO EVERYONE.

HOWEVER, NOW, WHEN SPEAKING ABOUT THE METHODS OF THE ZIONIST HAWKERS, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU ABOUT A TERRIBLE TRAGEDY WHICH BEFELL ONE FAMILY. HOWEVER, IT WILL BE BETTER, EVIDENTLY, IF THE INDIVIDUAL, WHO WAS CONDEMNED TO ENDURE THIS TRAGEDY, TELLS YOU ABOUT IT HIMSELF.

I request that the floor be given to Yefim Naganovich Lekht, if possible.

YE. N. LEKHT. When it became known to me that this meeting was being held, I expressed a desire to participate in it in order to again direct the attention of gullible people not to the grief, which befell me, but to the essence of Zionism which has not stopped at any human sacrifice or any base action or lie.

It is clear that the tragedy of my family is only a particular example. However, this case is typical. It proves that the Zionist hawkers are not squeamish about anything, literally anything.

My wife fell ill in 1977. All steps were taken to treat her intensively. The diagnosis was lung cancer. She was placed in the Scientific Research Oncological Center in Moscow.

The yes-men of the Zionists decided to use our grief. Discussions, promises and assertions that my wife could allegedly be cured only in Israel, occurred.

I knew that this was impossible; I did not believe all of these rumors that they had allegedly found a cure for cancer in Israel. However, all of my arguments did not have an effect. There were relatives of my wife on her mother's side there, in Israel. They urged us in their letters: "Come, it is only in Israel that it is possible to obtain a genuine cure...." My wife believed that they would save her there. Of course, it is necessary to understand the condition that she was in.

The summons arrived from Israel. My name was also mentioned in it. I categorically refused to go.

My wife decided to leave me and go together with her mother and our minor children. I was not able to leave them. Moreover, a great deal of money for the trip appeared from somewhere. A very great deal. They hoped to tempt me with the money and to incline me to the trip. My wife once asked me: "You will not allow me to die?" What do you answer.... She filed for a divorce.

Of course, the treatment in Israel did not have any effect. She encountered great difficulties there and my wife died after 10 months. The children had lost their mother and motherland and were cut off from their father.

THE FALSE WORDS HAD DONE THEIR WORK. THEY SENT ME NEWS ABOUT HER DEATH AND INFORMED ME HOW SHE HAD DIED. I AM CONVINCED THAT SHE UNDERSTOOD THAT SHE HAD BEEN DECEIVED AND CAME TO THE MOST TERRIBLE DECISION-- SHE CUT HER VEINS, WAS SAVED AND DIED TWO WEEKS LATER FROM ASPHYXIA.

Here is what the Zionist brought to my family. I am telling about it since I have gone through a great deal. The pain has not subsided and will hardly fade away. How many were the anonymous calls and threats in order to persuade me to leave.... How they tried to slander me....

However, our Soviet people of different nationalities -- people with a great humanitarian spirit -- were beside me. They understood in what a difficult position I was and helped me in every way possible. I will remain grateful until the end to my motherland and to the Soviet people for their help and humaneness.

I MAINTAIN: IT IS NECESSARY TO STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM WITH ALL PERMISSIBLE MEANS. THE UNMASKING OF ZIONISM IS NOT A PRIVATE QUESTION. IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF PEOPLE WHO CAN BE DECEIVED.

A QUESTION FROM AN ITALIAN PANARAMA MAGAZINE CORRESPONDENT: ZIONIST PROPAGANDA OFTEN STATES THAT THE ALLEGED INFRINGEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF SOVIET JEWS IS EXPRESSED IN THE FACT THAT "THE EXIT DOORS FROM THE USSR HAVE BEEN SLAMMED SHUT".

S. L. ZIVS. The ruin of the plans and the failure of the headquarters of the Zionist politicians to entice Jews from the USSR evoke anger and irritation among those who hypocritically assume the role of defenders of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

The process of reuniting separated families has been practically completed. This has led to a sharp decrease in the number of people leaving the USSR for Israel. This is the reality. These are the real facts!

Zionist propaganda is trying to depict this lawful process as the result of the Soviet authorities violating the rights of their citizens.

However the mechanics of Zionist propaganda and the entire miserable picture are becoming more and more noticeable. The tricks of the Zionists to entice people from the USSR to Israel have been unraveled.

IN THIS REGARD, THE EXPLANATORY ACTIVITY IN CRITIQUING ZIONISM AND THE WORK OF THE ANTI-ZIONIST COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET PUBLIC HELP ONE TO UNDERSTAND TO WHAT TRAGIC AND INDEED FATAL CONSEQUENCES THE REFUSAL TO RESIST ZIONIST PRESSURE LEADS.

WE CAN STATE THAT THE NUMBER, WHO RECOGNIZE THE PERNICIOUSNESS OF ITS INTENTIONS AND WHO HAVE REJECTED THEM, IS GROWING EVEN AMONG THOSE RELATIVELY FEW PEOPLE WHO, HAVING FALLEN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ZIONIST PROPAGANDA, INTEND TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION.

I. S. TOLMASSKIY. I am an electrical engineer. I was working, I lacked for nothing, I was completely satisfied with life, and people were satisfied with me. However, a sharp break occurred in my life. My younger sister left with her husband for Israel. She sent me a summons, and I did something almost irreparable: I submitted a request to move to Israel to the Visa and Registration of Foreign Citizens Department. In a month, the Visa and Registration of Foreign Citizens Department granted me official permission to leave. However, I thought in time; I understood what a reckless step I had decided upon and categorically refused to leave. The one thought that in a little while I would have lost my motherland still terrifies me.

I was treated more than humanely. I am again working in my speciality in the field of electronic equipment. But the main thing is that I have again acquired the trust of my comrades and am able to look them in the eye with a clean conscience.

However, I will never forget how it was in the spider's web of Zionist propaganda. Here is my ridiculous application prompted by those who worked very cleverly on me. Welcome to the "Zionist paradise"....

PERHAPS, IT IS A PARADISE FOR ZIONISTS. HOWEVER, THIS PARADISE TURNED INTO SUCH A HELL FOR MY SISTER THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO EVEN IMAGINE IT. A WHOLE STREAM OF LETTERS, FILLED WITH DESPAIR, ARRIVED FROM MY SISTER. SHE WROTE THAT JUST AS MANY OTHERS, SHE WAS NOT ABLE TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO THE LOCAL SYSTEM, ORDER, CUSTOMS, AND WAY OF LIFE. SHE WAS NOT ABLE TO GET USED TO THE DISCRIMINATION THAT JEWS FROM THE SOVIET UNION UNDERGO AND TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO MANY OTHER THINGS. THE DAMNED ZIONIST PROPAGANDA IS SILENT ABOUT THIS. SHE TEARFULLY IMPORED ME TO HELP HER TO RETURN TO HER MOTHERLAND. SHE WROTE: "THE MOTHERLAND IS WHERE YOU WERE BORN AND GREW UP. WE HAVE NO OTHER MOTHERLAND AND THERE CAN BE NO OTHER ONE." HOWEVER, SHE WAS ALREADY NOT FATED TO RETURN TO THE MOTHERLAND. THEY SOON AFTER INFORMED ME THAT SHE HAD TAKEN SERIOUSLY ILL AND DIED. THE ZIONISTS ARE GUILTY OF THIS TRAGEDY.

Through my own sad experience and that of my family, I am convinced that one of the important tasks of each Soviet individual citizen, and especially of every citizen of Jewish extraction, is the struggle against Zionism and the unmasking of the true meaning of its propaganda.

A QUESTION FROM A NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY REVIEWER: ZIONIST PROPAGANDA CONTINUALLY EXPLOITS THE SLANDEROUS LEGEND THAT IT IS ALLEGEDLY FORBIDDEN IN THE SOVIET UNION TO RECALL THE CRIMES OF THE NAZIS AND THE VICTIMS OF HITLER'S GENOCIDE. FOR WHAT PURPOSE IS THIS BEING DONE?

G. O. ZIMANAS. Yes, I had heard this Zionist fable. They shout it so loudly that it is impossible not to have heard it. However, this does not have even a remote relationship to reality.

I will begin with the facts. More than 700,000 people perished in small Lithuania in which three million people lived before the war.

IN LITHUANIA, JUST AS THROUGHOUT THE SOVIET UNION, THEY PIOUSLY REVERE THE BURIAL PLACES OF SOVIET CITIZENS OF ALL NATIONALITIES. AN IMPOSING MEMORIAL WAS DEDICATED IN JUNE IN FORT NO.9 WHERE MORE THAN 100,000 PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONALITIES PERISHED.

BOOKS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED ABOUT THIS PLACE IN THE LITHUANIAN AND JEWISH LANGUAGES. BOOKS ABOUT THE KAUNAS GHETTO HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AND IN YIDDISH.

MORE THAN 80,000 PERISHED IN PANYARYAY NEAR VILNIUS. WORK IS NOW BEING COMPLETED TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO DIED. THERE IS A BOOK IN YIDDISH AND ALSO IN THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE -- "O CHEM SHUMYAT SOSNY V PANYARYAY" [WHAT ARE THE PINE TREES MOANING ABOUT IN PANYARYAY]. MANY WERE KILLED AND TORTURED IN THE CITIES AND VILLAGES. EVERYWHERE THE BURIAL PLACES OF THE VICTIMS OF THE FASCISTS AND THE CEMETARIES OF THE RED ARMYMEN HAVE BEEN PUT IN GOOD ORDER, MONUMENTS STAND IN THEM, AND FLOWERS ARE PLACED ON THEM ON HOLIDAYS.

We revere the memory of all of those who perished at the hands of the Hitlerite butchers since future generations require this. We do not divide the dead by nationality. Do the Zionists know about this? I am competent that the ring-leaders of the Zionists know the situation exactly.

For what purpose do they lie? It is a class policy. They are silent about the Nazi crimes which are being concealed in the FRG and other countries. At the same time, they attack the USSR. They need to conceal the truth of their policy; it is necessary to shield the crimes in Lebanon and the slaughter in Sabra and Shatila. They are lying about the USSR in order to conceal their evil deeds. The true meaning of Zionist slander is in this.

A QUESTION FROM DANISH TELEVISION: YOUR COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED A YEAR AGO AND I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER THIS HAS SERVED AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE COMMITTEES IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

D. A. DRAGUNSKIY. We have letters which testify that committees have been established in a number of countries, for example in Latin America and in other areas. Yesterday- we received a letter from Argentina in which it was reported that the Argentine public has established a similar organization.

A QUESTION FROM THE DANISH NEWSPAPER POLITIKEN CORRESPONDENT: I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THE COMMITTEE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IDEA ITSELF THAT LIES AT THE BASIS OF ZIONISM: THE CREATION OF A MOTHERLAND FOR JEWS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WHAT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL EVALUATION OF THIS IDEA AND THE PRACTICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AND ITS SECURITY?

S. L. ZIVS. The idea of gathering together all Jews from around the world, as you said, into one motherland is incorrect. First of all, we think that there is no single Jewish people around the world, as the Zionists maintain. There are the Jews of Denmark and the Jews of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the motherland of Soviet Jews because their forefathers were born and lived here. During the Great Patriotic War, they fought for the freedom

of their motherland, for the destruction of fascism and so that the fascist boot would never trample the earth of our country or the earth of Denmark.

Today, Soviet Jews are an integral part of the Soviet people. That is why the Zionist idea of gathering or, as they even say, "repatriating all Jewish people" is essentially unacceptable and incorrect and is repudiated by Soviet Jews.

Concerning our committee's attitude toward Israel, we say quite clearly: We reject the ideology of Zionism. Regarding the state of Israel, the Soviet position has been repeatedly officially expressed. When the Organization of the United Nations discussed the idea of creating two independent states on the mandated territory of Palestine-- an independent Arab and Jewish one, the Soviet Union unconditionally voted in the final analysis for the establishment of two states on this territory.

Concerning the security of Israel, I think that my colleague, Igor' Petrovich Belyayev, who is a specialist in the international affairs of this region, will take up the answer.

I. P. BELYAYEV. As is well known, the Soviet Union is in favor of the peaceful coexistence of all the countries and peoples in the Near East and this means of Israel and respect for the national rights of Palestine's Arab people. Many Israeli politicians do not cease maintaining that a little more additional territory -- of course, at the expense of their Arab neighbors -- is required to insure Israeli's security. I would like to remind you that in 1973 Israel controlled a great deal of territory, including the Arab lands seized in June 1967. Despite this, Israel received war. It began on 6 October 1973. The "October War" was the first sign that the Arabs could defend themselves. Consequently, the matter lies not in territory but in the normalization of Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors. The key to solving its security lies in this.

A QUESTION FROM A PEACE AND PROGRESS RADIO STATION CORRESPONDENT: WOULD YOU BE ABLE TO CITE FACTS WHICH TESTIFY THAT THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST, WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED BY THE POLICY OF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES, IS BEING PRESERVED?

I. P. BELYAYEV. As before, the military and political situation in the region remains explosive with all of the costs and consequences that flow from this. Israel is continuing the war in Lebanon. Although it is completely clear that this war by the aggressor and the United States, which has openly joined itself to it, has been lost. These facts testify to this;

1. THE ILLEGAL AND ONE-SIDED 17 May 1983 ISRAELI-LEBANESE "PEACE AGREEMENT" WHICH WAS THRUST ON LEBANON IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CAMP DAVID MODEL, HAS BEEN CLEARLY ABROGATED.

2. THE OCCUPIERS HAVE NOT MANAGED TO SUPPRESS THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FORCES OF LEBANON. IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY WHERE THE ISRAELIS STILL EXERCISE THEIR SWAY, ACTIVE RESISTANCE BY PARTISANS CONTINUES AND IS BECOMING STRONGER TODAY.

3. FINALLY, NOT ONLY THE AMERICAN MARINES BUT ALSO THE SO-CALLED "MULTINATIONAL FORCES", WHICH WERE COMPOSED OF UNITS FROM THE MAIN NATO POWERS (FRANCE, ITALY AND ENGLAND), FLED IN DISGRACE FROM BEIRUT.

However, Israel occupies the southern part of Lebanon as before and still is not planning to remove their forces from there. Very often different pretexts are invented for remaining there despite the demands of the international community. The implementation of a very dangerous annexationist plan under the code name "North Bank" has been begun. It provides for the integration of the southern Lebanese land and rivers with Israeli territory. Actually, the border between Lebanon and Israel, which has been recognized and legitimized by the international community, has been deliberately destroyed.

WITH THE VERY ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES, ISRAEL CAN COMMIT ANOTHER AGGRESSION AT ANY TIME -- IF NOT AGAINST SYRIA, THEN AGAINST JORDAN. ALTHOUGH IN WORDS-- THEIR SHAMIR DOES NOT SPARE ANYTHING BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTIONS -- HE CALLS UPON THE ARABS TO END THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION. CAMP DAVID IS SLIPPING. THEY UNDERSTAND THIS CLEAR TRUTH MORE AND MORE IN TEL AVIV. IN ORDER TO CONTINUE FOISTING A ZIONIST APPROACH TO THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI-ARAB PROBLEMS ON THE ARABS IN MATTERS PERTAINING TO THEIR SETTLEMENT, THE ISRAELI ARMY IS CONDUCTING MILITARY MANEUVERS AT THE PRESENT TIME NEXT TO THE EGYPTIAN BORDER.

A QUESTION FROM A TASS CORRESPONDENT: RECENTLY, SEVERAL AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN AND MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATES HAVE UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE PRO-ZIONIST LOBBY BEGUN TO MAKE STATEMENTS IN WHICH THEY EXPRESS THEIR SO-CALLED "ANXIETY" ABOUT THE CONDITION OF SOVIET JEWS. WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCH STATEMENTS?

M. B. KRUPKIN. In their content such statements in defense of Soviet Jews are slanderous and grossly distort Soviet reality. From an international law point of view, they are a clear interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. From the point of view of the commonly accepted principles that define the role of parliaments in international relations, it is an impermissible use of the authority of an elected legislative body to escalate unfriendly (and often hostile) feelings with regard to the government and people of another sovereign state.

This type of document -- if one may call them that -- from parliamentary bodies is based on a gross falsification of the nationality policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government and serve to further inflame anti-Soviet hysteria.

A QUESTION FROM THE SPANISH AKTUALIDAD NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT: THE JEWISH AUTONOMOUS OBLAST IS CELEBRATING ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY THIS YEAR. WHAT SIGNIFICANCE DO YOU ATTACH TO THIS DATE?

L. B. SHKOL'NIK. This jubilee is an important event in the life of our entire multinational country. During the years of its existence, the oblast has been transformed into an important cultural and economic center in the Soviet Far East. It has a modern industry and a highly mechanized and multibranch agriculture.

ONE OF THE PROGRESSIVE ENTERPRISES IN THE OBLAST IS THE DAL'SEL'MASH PLANT WHICH PRODUCES UNIQUE SELF-PROPELLED TRACKED COMBINES FOR HARVESTING GRAIN AND RICE ON EXCESSIVELY WET LAND.

THE MOST VALUABLE POSSESSION OF THE OBLAST IS ITS PEOPLE. I COULD NAME TODAY HUNDREDS OF FAMILIES OF WHOM THE OBLAST IS PROUD, BUT I WILL NAME ONLY A FEW: VIKTOR VRUBLEVSKIY, HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOR AND A ROTATING FURNACE OPERATOR IN THE TEPLOOZERSK CEMENT PLANT; YELENA ARNAPOLINA, A HOSIERY AND KNITTED FABRIC FACTORY SEAMSTRESS; RAKHIL' GELLER, A USSR SUPREME SOVIET DEPUTY AND A WORKER IN A POWER TRANSFORMER PLANT; AND MANY OTHERS.

This entire year is a jubilee one for our oblast. Various festivals and meetings with labor and war veterans and the first builders of the oblast are being held during the preparations for the jubilee. In May, Days of Soviet Literature, which are devoted to the 50th anniversary of the oblast, will take place in Birobidzhan.

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We have only talked about part of the extensive Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public press conference which evoked lively interest among all of the participants. It demonstrated how victory remains on the side of truth no matter how our ideological enemies camouflage the lies.

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## NATIONAL

### CPSU LEADING ROLE IN LIFE OF SOVIET SOCIETY EXAMINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 84 (signed to press 3 Apr 84)  
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[Article by Ye. I. Bugayev, doctor of historical sciences, professor, under rubric "Problems of Theory and Methodology": "Guaranteeing the Increase in the Leading Role of the CPSU in the Life of Soviet Society"]

[Text] The role of the political party in the life of society is objectively influenced by the place occupied in the production relations of the given society by the class whose interests are expressed by the party, and by the type and form of the state where that party operates.

The origin and development of the Marxist-Leninist party is a completely natural process that was determined by the concrete historical situation, by the needs of the revolutionary-transforming activity of the working class and the masses of the people. The uniqueness of the development of the individual parties, a uniqueness that reflects the national-historical, cultural, and everyday peculiarities of the particular country, cannot eliminate the most substantial regularities that are common to all parties, or the typical features of that development.

At the same time it is well known that the laws of social development are not the same as the laws of nature. They themselves do not do anything. And whereas it is indisputable that all attempts to carry out any reforms in society prior to the time when the objective prerequisites for that have matured attest to impatience or adventurism, the passive waiting for the moment when everything will form, all by itself, in conformity with the objective laws of general historical development is opportunism of the purest water.

The socialist revolution, the socialist reorganization of society, and the building of communism are the result of the conscious, purposeful activity of people, through which one sees the manifestation of the objective laws of social development. The party that guides those processes cannot fail to take into consideration the objective laws, in order not to fall into Utopia or adventurism, but it also knows that the objective and the subjective in social life are intertwined and operate not alongside of one another, but together. Also, the farther that society moves along the path to communism, the greater the importance that the subjective factor takes on.

Soviet social sciences have done a lot to substantiate the objective influence of and the need for the increase in the guiding role of the party of the working class at all stages in the struggle for communism. But something that is no less important is a thorough analysis of the factors that contribute to this increase and that guarantee it. In this regard a work that is of great theoretical and methodological importance is the work by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, entitled "The Vanguard Role of the Party of Communists: An Important Condition for Its Growth"<sup>1</sup>.

The science of the party's history is taking its first steps in researching the problems of guaranteeing the increase in the guiding role of the CPSU in Soviet society. In certain publications, including individual articles<sup>2</sup> by the author of these lines, this problem is touched upon only in passing.

The article that is offered below contains an attempt, in the most general features, to consider the subjective factors in the growth of the guiding role of the CPSU in Soviet society, which factors are guided by the party itself.

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The experience of all the countries that have taken or are taking the socialist path of development, the experience of the successful forward movement along that path, like the lessons that have been learned by the working class from the crisis situations in individual countries, attest to the fact that the guidance of the revolutionary creativity of the working masses on the part of the Marxist-Leninist party is one of the general natural laws underlying the socialist revolution and the building of the new society.

The guiding role of the party must be constantly reproduced and, in conformity with objective need, must be reinforced and must grow. The guaranteeing that this requirement of life is never out of sight is the task of the party itself. This is especially important, first of all, because the building of socialism, of communism in every country, presents the parties with tasks that are largely new or that are complicated in a new way, and those tasks must be resolved to the best of the party's ability; secondly, because the imperialists and their learned servants and accomplices have splendidly assimilated what the guidance of the party of the communists means, and they are directing all their efforts primarily toward the undermining of the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries. In this regard they have been given a large amount of assistance by the social reformers, as well as the revisionists of various persuasions in the communist and workers movement.

The guiding role of the party in the life of society and the increase in that role are not something that is self-evident, that is acquired, as it were, by inheritance, and that therefore does not require any additional efforts from the party. On the contrary, the objective natural law underlying the increase in the guiding role of the party is guaranteed by the constant and strenuous labor performed by all the Communists, by all links in the party. The present-day practice of certain parties indicates that if certain spheres of activity of society disappear from the party's field of vision, if the

party makes a mistake in policy and does not correct it promptly, or if it departs from the time-tested Leninist norms of party life and the principles of party guidance, then the guiding role of the party can also decrease, and that will have a pernicious effect upon the entire life of society and is fraught with large dangers for the cause of socialism<sup>3</sup>.

The experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties under various conditions of the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the creation of a new society is already sufficiently great and varied to allow us to make from that experience certain conclusions concerning the question of guaranteeing the increase in their guiding role in social life.

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As long ago as the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," K. Marx and F. Engels, characterizing the most substantial features of the Communists, remarked, in particular, that "theoretically speaking, they have an advantage over the rest of the proletariat in the understanding of the conditions, course, and overall results of the proletarian movement"<sup>4</sup>.

The role of the conscious vanguard of the working class in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, the role of the political leader, organizer, and indoctrinator of the masses during the period of the construction and improvement of socialism can be successfully fulfilled by the party only if the party possesses and is guided in its activity by the only scientific theory of the development of society -- Marxism-Leninism.

It is only the possession of scientific theory that gives the party the knowledge of the laws of social development, the ability at any specific moment to analyze precisely the specific situation that has developed, and the correlation of the class forces within the country and on the national scene, and makes it possible to see the long-term view and, at any turn of events, to develop the correct policy. And this increases the authority of the party and reinforces people's trust in it.

"We stand entirely on the soil of Marx's theory. . .," Lenin wrote. From that theory, he asserts, the party members "derive all their convictions," and "apply [it] to their own methods of combat and means of activity. . ."<sup>5</sup>. He emphasized that "the role of the advanced fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by advanced theory"<sup>6</sup>. It is precisely that theory, the only scientific theory, that Lenin said must be defended against any perversions by revisionists, that must keep the purity of its fundamental principles preserved, and that must be developed in all directions in order to make sure that the party does not lag behind life but, rather, is at the height of the position of ideological leader of the working class and all the workers. In the development of this theory the name of Lenin has entered the same category as the names of Marx and Engels.

The theoretical activity of the CPSU is an inseparable part of its carrying out of its guiding role in the struggle of the working class and all the workers for the victory of communism, and the building of communism includes the indoctrination of completely developed and completely trained people. Communism is the result not of spontaneous development, but the conscious activity of people, which activity is guided by the party.

The party gives greater and greater importance to ideological work as one of the most important components of communist construction. "For us it is axiomatic," Comrade K. U. Chernenko remarks, "that the reinforcement of the guiding role of the party, the deepening of the scientific principles of its political and organizing activity, are inseparable from the creative development of Leninism"<sup>7</sup>. The party emphasizes that, for all the importance of the other questions that all the party committees and organizations must engage in, ideological work is moving more and more into the foreground. The June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee set down measures for improving the training of ideological cadres, for raising the level of the work in ideological theory in the area of the social sciences, especially the economic sciences, and for changing the work style of the network of party education, of mass political training, so that every Communist, every Soviet citizen, has a more thorough understanding of the party's policy under today's conditions, and has a clearer idea of his own duty and executes that duty properly.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, remarking on the need to intensify the interrelation among the economic, social, and spiritual progress of Soviet society, said, "It is impossible to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level without creating the social and ideological prerequisites that this requires. It is equally impossible to resolve the pressing problems of the development of socialist awareness without relying upon the firm foundation of economic and social policy"<sup>8</sup>.

Because of the acuity of the international relations that has resulted at the fault of Washington's adventuristic policy, a factor of exceptionally great importance is the theoretical arming of our ideological cadres, so that they can bring the truth about the new social system and can be capable of unmasking the lack of substantiation, the falsity, the class goals of imperialistic propaganda. And for this purpose it is important, as Lenin taught, to concentrate one's attention on the criticism of "the political-ideological trends in the particular era which are most harmful for democracy and for socialism"<sup>9</sup>; and it is important to know always "the enemy's strengths, his state of organization, and the political trends in his camp"<sup>10</sup>.

Experience and practical life confirm that any underestimation of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory, its creative development, "the narrowly pragmatic interpretation of its tasks, the disregard of the fundamental problems of theory, the dominance of an opportunist attitude, or scholastic theoretizing," as Yu. V. Andropov noted, "are fraught with serious political and ideological consequences"<sup>11</sup>.

We are not discussing rhetorical exercises, but, rather, serious, complicated, and responsible work. Life presents us with varied theoretical problems: some of them have not yet been encountered by social practice. Others, although they may have been resolved at one time, now require, under different historical conditions, a new approach and, consequently, a re-examination of individual theoretical principles that were valid for the past, but which are obsolete for the present-day situation. It is precisely that work that the party has been asked to perform by the decree of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning the preparation of a new version of the CPSU Program, in which

there must be a profound scientific reflection of the most important changes in the life of Soviet society and in the worldwide social development, and the most important tasks of the building of socialism.

One recent example of this approach to the new problems and of new resolutions was Yu. V. Andropov's article "The Theory of Karl Marx and Certain Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR," as well as the report by K. U. Chernenko and the speech by Yu. V. Andropov at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the speeches by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the February 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and to the voters of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon, in the city of Moscow, on 2 March 1984.

Of course, the re-examination of the principles of scientific communism that fail to conform to the new historical conditions, or the resolution of new social, political, and other problems, require every Marxist-Leninist party to carry out a thorough scientific dialectic-materialistic analysis of real life. And, obviously, nothing in this direction is provided by superficial, frequently naive "innovations" that frequently rely on an "analysis" of what is desired, rather than what exists in real life. As was the situation during the time of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, at the present time the "new directions" in Marxism which arise in a few places (or, to put it more precisely, the new attempts at revision of Marxism) -- the national, regional, and the like -- are actually "nothing else but a new variety of opportunism," and the freedom to criticize the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory is "the freedom of bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements to penetrate into socialism"<sup>12</sup>.

Unfortunately, even among Communists one finds people who accept as the new word in Marxism hasty inferences such as the inference that the chief motivating force in social progress is the nation, or that the small-scale commodity producer is "an inseparable element of socialist society." Naturally, "theoretical" discoveries of this kind are a step not forward in the development of scientific communism, but, rather, a step backward, toward petty-bourgeois and bourgeois theories and views. Not allowing anyone to erode Marxist-Leninist theory, but, conversely, fighting for its purity, working creatively to develop it -- those constitute the only true path to the awareness and resolution of the new problems.

Consequently, in order to guarantee itself the guiding role in the life of society and its growth at all stages of the building and improvement of socialism, the party must be constantly guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, must preserve the purity of its fundamental principles, must develop theory in close relationship with the needs of social progress, and must never "depart from the exact soil of the analysis of class relations"<sup>13</sup>.

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The chief element in the guiding activity of the CPSU is the development of the general course of the development, and a policy that encompasses all spheres of social life. The correctness of the party policy is a very important condition for the increase in its role and its authority in society.

The correct policy is a policy that is realistic both in the evaluation of what has been achieved, and in the planned measures for resolving the pressing problems. "It is necessary to evaluate realistically that which has been achieved, without exaggerating, but also without underestimating. It is only this approach," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "that protects us from errors in policy, from the temptation of accepting that which is desired as being that which actually exists, and makes it possible for us to see clearly, as Lenin said, 'specifically what we have "finished doing" and what we haven't finished doing. . .'"<sup>14</sup>. The policy of the ruling party, in which the most important factors in the development of society -- the economic, social, national, demographic, and international factors -- are taken into consideration and are reflected in their unity, is a force that unites all segments of the nation toward the satisfying of the growing material and spiritual needs of which that party is directed.

A peculiarity of the policy of the CPSU is its honesty, its openness. The party of Communists does not throw promises around wildly, in the manner of the bourgeois parties that are fighting for places in the parliament. It openly states that various economic, social, and other tasks can be resolved by approximately such and such deadlines, and others, by virtue of the limitation of resources, will take longer. This reinforces people's confidence in the party, and increases its social weight.

As the guiding nucleus of the political organization of society, the party not only works out the general strategy for development, but also mobilizes the workers for its realization, carries out the political guidance of all the state and social organizations, striving for a situation in which the party agencies do not duplicate or replace them. Its method of action is not authoritarian administrative methods, not the issuing of commands, but, rather, the convincing of people concerning the correctness of its policy and the fact that it conforms to the interests of the workers. It is the selection, placement, and indoctrination of the cadres, the supervision of their work, the constant checking of the execution of the party and state decisions. Otherwise the most correct, the most scientifically substantiated policy can be converted into nothing but a bunch of good wishes. Lenin recommended "thinking carefully that, for the successful administration, it is necessary, in addition to having the ability to win . . . to have the ability to organize on a practical basis"<sup>15</sup>.

The improvement of developed socialism, and, consequently, the advancement of society toward communism, is a complicated, multifaceted process that affects all aspects of the material and spiritual life of the nation, a process that is consciously organized and guided. The Communist Party, then, is the force that guides the revolutionary transformation of society, that guarantees the harmonious development of all branches of material and spiritual production, and the unity of economic and social policy.

This position of the Communist Party in the society that is building communism is influenced by its class nature as the vanguard and the political leader of the working class, the goal of which is the building of a communist society. At the same time the CPSU has shown and proven to all the workers, in the experience of their own life, that they can get rid of all forms of

social and national oppression only in the joint struggle, in the closest union with the working class, and with its playing a leading role. This has reinforced the faith in the party, has provided it with the support by the broad masses of the people. In the course of the creation of the socialist society there has been a gradual drawing closer together of the basic interests of various social groups of the workers and a transition of them (and even a certain part of the former representatives of the exploiting classes) to the class positions of the working class. As a result of the victory of socialism and the consolidation of the social unity of Soviet society, the CPSU -- the party of the working class -- has become the party of the entire Soviet nation.

The 26th CPSU Congress, the November 1982, June and December 1983, and the February 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committees have served as models of a realistic, strictly scientific analysis of the historical experience of the party and Soviet society as a whole, and have persistently revealed the program of our entire activity under the conditions of developed socialism. Their decisions have provided important instructions for the future with regard to a number of fundamentally important keynote questions, and have substantiated the chief directions in the party's policy, and the efforts of the nation, which have been leading to the development chiefly and basically of a classless structure of society within the historic framework of developed socialism: qualitative reforms in the productive forces and a concomitant improvement of the production relations, changes in the awareness of people and in all forms of social life.

The fundamental principles that have been advanced by the party in the area of the cardinal increase in labor productivity substantiate the need for a tremendous amount of work to the introduction of order in what we have, to the intelligent use of the country's entire production and scientific-technical potential that has been created by the labor of the nation, and to the steady carrying out of measures to accelerate scientific-technical progress. We are talking about the actual guaranteeing of a true revolutionary turning point in all areas of the national economy, the practical combination of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of the socialist system.

The party's economic strategy has a definite social directedness. Take, for example, the Food Program, in the successful resolution of which the entire Soviet nation has a vital interest. The conversion of agricultural production to an industrial basis, the creation of agroindustrial complexes, the carrying out of cultural and everyday construction in rural areas -- all these things also mean tremendous social shifts. The two forms of socialist ownership -- state and kolkhoz-cooperative -- are drawing closer together and, in the foreseeable future, will fuse together. Consequently, one sees the loss of the basic class-forming attribute that differentiates between the workers and the peasants who have been collected into cooperatives. Together with the drawing closer together of the working and everyday living conditions, the level of general-educational and vocational training, this also means, in the practical situation, the gradual, complete elimination of class differences, the elimination of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, that is, practical steps toward a classless society.

The resolution of the complicated problems of energy engineering, transport and communication, the protection of the environment, and the creation of

the optimal conditions for using the blessings of nature, and many other problems at each specific stage touches upon the interests of various social, national, and demographic groups of the population and various regions of the country. Guaranteeing their resolution in such a way that those interests do not contradict one another, but, rather, combine harmoniously, is a complicated matter that requires a tremendous amount of political tact, unshakable confidence about the need for various reforms, and the ability to convince all the interested groups and segments about that.

No organization other than the Communist Party possesses those qualities or is capable of possessing them. It is precisely that fact that makes its policy the policy of the entire Soviet nation. It is precisely that fact that gives the Communist Party the moral right -- a right won by decades of struggle for the interests of the nation -- and the factual capability of determining the paths for the further development of society, the right to mobilize the workers for the achievement of the assigned goals, and to demand of all the organizations and departments the strictest carrying out of the party's policy, and of each member of society, the just as strict execution of his duties in any work sector.

The correct, scientifically substantiated policy that takes into consideration the interests of all segments and groups of the workers and that firmly guarantees social justice and the movement of society toward complete social equality and toward communism is the pledge of the steady increase in the guiding role of the party.

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One of the mandatory conditions for increasing the guiding role of the Communist Party is its ideological and organizational unity, its ability to act as a single person. The founders of scientific communism felt that the success of the proletarian party "requires the unity of thought and action"<sup>16</sup>. That unity is all the more necessary to the party when the party becomes the ruling one and guides the socialist transformation of society.

In beginning to create the new type of party, Lenin considered it to be absolutely necessary to unify in it only the people who stand on common ideological positions, and he did not even allow the thought of the ideological "pluralism" of the proletarian party. Later, when struggling against the opportunism of the leaders of the 2nd International, he warned that the word "unity" should never be played with. "Unity is a great cause and a great slogan!" Lenin wrote. "But the workers' cause needs the unity of the Marxists, not the unity of Marxists and the opponents and pervertors of Marxism"<sup>17</sup>.

Ideological unity presupposes that Marxist-Leninist commonality of views concerning the fundamental questions of the class struggle and the building of the new society which commonality makes the party the union of persons sharing identical views. An organization without the ideological unity of its members is like a crowd that wants to get moving, but does not know in what direction or for what reason. "Organization without ideology," Lenin wrote, is nonsense, which in the practical situation converts the workers into

miserable stooges of the bourgeoisie that has all the power"<sup>18</sup>. This Leninist idea remains a valid one to this day. Although the USSR has not had either a bourgeoisie or other exploiters for a long period of time, the front of the class struggle has not disappeared. Rather, it has shifted to the international arena.

Persistence in carrying out their scientifically substantiated, collectively developed policy, their success in this historic cause, reinforce the solidarity of the party and intensify the moral spirit of the Communists, increasing the respect for the party and its authority. Therefore the party requires of all Communists implacability toward any ideological vacillations, the ability to recognize ideological enemies even if they artfully disguise themselves as "Marxists," and requires them to fight, to use Lenin's words, not only against those who crudely and cynically betray the working class, but also against those who extinguish "the revolutionary spirit instead of maintaining and developing it"<sup>19</sup>.

The ideological unity of the party is reinforced by organizational unity. The latter requires precisely defined norms and rules that are mandatory for all Communists and party committees, in guiding their activities. Without this the party is incapable of making any decisions, much less implementing them. The basic principle in the organizational structure of the party, as developed by Lenin -- democratic centralism -- is accepted by all the Marxist-Leninist parties. That principle, and especially the principles that evolve from the principle of democratic centralism -- the need for the minority to be subordinated to the majority and the mandatory nature that the decisions made by the superior party agencies have for the subordinate ones -- have been subjected to, and are currently being subjected to, vicious attacks on the part of revisionists of various hues.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism by no means presupposes that those in the party cannot have different points of view with regard to a particular question. Lenin and the party always fought for the development of initiative, for the active participation of the party organizations and the Communists in the discussion of all questions of party life and policy. "The only person who deserves the name of party member. . . is the one who attentively studies, thinks about, and independently resolves the questions and the fates of his party"<sup>20</sup>, Lenin wrote. But when a question has been discussed in the organization or in the entire party, when a decision has been made, then the discussion ends and the work begins and all the Communists act as a single person.

Prior to the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Leninist party decisively cleared its ranks of all kinds of opportunists and schismatics, liquidators from the right and from the left, Mensheviks, and fellow-travelers who had joined the party during the years of the first Russian revolution and after February 1917. Without that work of purification, the party could not have headed a victorious revolution.

After becoming the ruling party in a country with multiple types of economy, the party during the transitional period between capitalism and socialism waged an implacable struggle against various factions and groupings that reflected the pressure of the petty-bourgeois environment upon the working

class and its party. As is well known, the 10th RKP(b) Congress adopted resolutions that had been prepared by V. I. Lenin -- "Party Unity" and "Syndicalism and Anarchistic Deviation in Our Party" -- which required decisive measures against any manifestations of factionalism. Guided by Leninist ideas, the party successfully overcame the raids by the Trotskiyites, the rightist opportunists, and nationalists of various persuasion, and guaranteed the unity of its ranks.

The historical experience of the communist and workers movement indisputably attests to the fact that the indestructible ideological and organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class is the pledge of the successful guidance by that party of the revolutionary-transformational activity of the workers, and an absolutely mandatory condition that guarantees the increase of its guiding role in the life of society.

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In order for the level of the party guidance of the economic, social, and spiritual processes in the life of society to rise constantly, the party requires of all its organizations and committees, even in the event of the most considerable success, that they do not allow themselves to become complacent, and requires them to indoctrinate all the cadres in the spirit of dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, and constant readiness for a self-critical analysis of the results of their activity. This pertains equally not only to the entire party, but also to individual Communists.

Every ruling party in a socialist country can, despite all its indisputable and inalienable achievements, discover in its work unused reserves, errors, and omissions. The latter are not terrible if they are not glossed over, but instead are promptly revealed and corrected. This does not lessen the prestige of the party, but, on the contrary, increases its authority and reinforces respect and trust in it.

Lenin considered the party's attitude to its errors to be one of "the most important and most reliable criteria for the seriousness of the party and its execution, in actual fact, of its duties to its class and to the masses of the workers"<sup>21</sup>. In his last statement in the political report of the Central Committee to the 11th party congress he said, "All the revolutionary parties that have perished up until this time, perished because they had a know-it-all attitude and were unable to see wherein their strength lay, and they were afraid to speak about their weaknesses. But we shall not perish, because we are not afraid to talk about our weaknesses and we will learn how to overcome our weaknesses"<sup>22</sup>. In 1921 he wrote, "We calculated -- or it might be more correct if we say that we assumed without making sufficient calculation -- that we could use the direct commands of the proletarian state to adjust the state production and the state distribution of products in a communist manner in a petty-peasant country. Life proved our mistake. A number of transitional stages were required: state capitalism and socialism in order to prepare -- to prepare by means of work over a long number of years -- the transition to communism"<sup>23</sup>. And the party changed over to the new economic policy [NEP] that had been developed and substantiated by Lenin at the 10th RKP(b) Congress, which policy guaranteed the transition to socialism.

The experience of our party, as well as that of the fraternal parties, confirms that without the attentive, critical analysis of what has already been done, what was hurriedly left undone (as a result of our having constantly to take action in response to the hostile acts of the imperialists, and sometimes also as a result of our own striving to see the fruits of our labor as rapidly as possible), and what was done not exactly in the way in which it had been planned, it is impossible to move ahead either in theory, in practice, in organization, or in economic construction.

Precisely for that reason the CPSU reveals and carefully analyzes the errors that have been made. Criticism and self-criticism long ago were elevated to the rank of the statutory rights and obligations of Communists. The 26th CPSU Congress called for "the confirmation in all party organizations of the spirit of self-criticism and implacability toward shortcomings"<sup>24</sup>. And the CPSU Rules state, "Persons who are guilty of suppressing criticism and of persecuting others for criticism must be brought to strict party responsibility, up to and including exclusion from the ranks of the CPSU. . ."<sup>25</sup>.

Nevertheless, instances of direct suppression -- but more frequently suppression that is disguised by "good" intentions (as though, for example, not to undermine the authority of the Communist or even more so the administrative worker in the face of non-party members) -- of criticism, or the striving to brush it aside by writing formal replies or promises, or to depict it as "conniving" against the chiefs do continue to exist. Therefore the indoctrination of a party attitude toward criticism, and the understanding by every Communist of the fact that the highest demands must be made of the party member and that "criticism, in the interests of the party itself," to use F. Engels' words, must be of the " frankest nature"<sup>26</sup> -- not a short-term campaign, but an important part of the daily party work at all levels. As for the people who suffer from excessive conceit and who do not tolerate the objections even of their coworkers, they should be reminded of Lenin's requirement: ". . . It is necessary not to see an 'intrigue' or 'counterbalance' in those who have a different opinion or who take a different approach to the job at hand, but to appreciate independent people"<sup>27</sup>.

A factor of great importance is the development of criticism and self-criticism in the primary organizations that work directly in the labor collectives. The best method of reinforcing the relations of party comradeship -- the creation in the collective of a situation in which publicity, demandingness, and the well-wishing discussion of the report made by any member of the party organization, the criticism, for example, of an enterprise director by a worker or the criticism of a minister by a rank-and-file specialist are viewed as an ordinary phenomenon, and the norm of the organization's life. Of course, in an atmosphere of good humor there cannot be any unusual judgments or any attempts to penetrate seriously into the problem being discussed or to work out a decision in a truly collective manner.

Criticism is a sharp weapon and one must know how to handle it. It must organically combine demandingness and respect for a person's dignity (if, of course, the person has not completely lost it), and must be the manifestation of genuine concern for the improvement of the job at hand and for the correction of the shortcomings. And it must not hinder the execution of what has already been discussed and has been established in a party decision.

The CPSU, developing criticism and self-criticism, is opposed to carping -- unjustified quibbling, character assassination, or a nihilistic attitude to what has been achieved and won by the peacetime and military labor of our nation.

From time to time one sees manifestations of "criticism" which, intertwining with each fact (actual or invented) a thousand preposterous stories, ascribes the errors made by individual persons to the party and to the government as a whole, and portrays the shortcomings in economic construction as shortcomings of the socialist system of economy, etc. The source from which such critics derive their "inspiration," and sometimes also their "facts," is well known.

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In a multinational country such as the Soviet Union, in order for the guiding role of the party to increase it is extremely important to assure the consistent carrying out of internationalism in political philosophy, in economic and other social relations, and in foreign policy, so that the worker in any country can see in a Communist a representative of his own interests, which do not infringe upon the interests of the workers of other nationalities.

The CPSU guarantees the increase of its guiding role in the life of society by the fact that it is a party of internationalists. It combines in its activities utter devotion to the interests of the working people of all nations in its own country and the same utter devotion to the cause of liberating the workers of the entire world. This strengthens the trust in the party on the part of the workers of all nationalities and increases its moral and political authority.

Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, discovered the objective basis of the international nature of the communist and workers movement, which basis is influenced by the commonality of the class interests of its national detachments, by the commonality of their class goals, and, finally, by the commonality of the class forces that are opposing them. Therefore, Marx, remarking that "the working class, in order to be, in general, capable of fighting, must organize itself in its own home country as a class and the immediate arena of its struggle must be its own country," emphasized that the class struggle of the proletariat is, in content, not national, but international<sup>28</sup>. He warned that "a disdainful attitude toward a fraternal union, which union must exist among the workers of various countries and must encourage them in their struggle for liberation to provide strong support for one another, is punished by the general defeat of their disorganized efforts"<sup>29</sup>.

Marx and Engels advanced the immortal slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" and fought for their entire life to implement it.

In full conformity with the fundamental ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin taught the working class of large and small countries in the struggle for their class goals and interests to beware of national narrowness, exclusivity, and aloofness, taught them to subordinate their immediate, private, national interests to the general ones. Lenin considered nationalism to be a

political philosophy that is alien to the proletariat, and hostile to the revolutionary struggle, because "by its tactics of disuniting and dismemberment, it completely nullifies the great behest of bringing closer together and uniting the proletarians of all nations, all races, all languages"<sup>30</sup>.

The Leninist party that was created on internationalistic principles united the working class of multinational Russia. It operated in all regions of the vast country, regions that were populated by peoples who not only spoke different languages and professed all the basic religions of the world, but also, when judged on the basis of the level of their socioeconomic and cultural development, belonged to various socioeconomic formations, beginning with the primitive commune. Upon being given the opportunity to develop for themselves, many of them, because of the small size of their population and the severity of their environment, simply did not have the strength to move up the ladder of civilization. And if in a historically brief period of time, all the peoples of the Soviet Union simultaneously arrived at socialism, with many of them bypassing one, or sometimes even two of the socioeconomic formations, this is the fruit of the Leninist national policy of a party that fought for the complete emancipation of all nations, for the complete freedom of their self-determination, for the right of every nation to create its own national state, and for the complete equality of all nations and nationalities.

But it is not only a matter of this. The party fought for the fraternal union and mutual aid of all the nations populating the country, without which the independent but economically weakly developed and militarily powerless peoples would have become the booty of the imperialistic predators, could not have created their own national economy or developed their national culture. One need only recall that during the years of the first five-year plans the republic budgets of the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, and the trans-Caucasus were formed basically by subsidies from the nationwide budget.

The unprecedentedly rapid upsurge of the economy and the culture of the peoples which had previously been backward in their development was the result of the fact that, carefully taking into consideration the particular -- the national-historical peculiarities of the various regions -- the party did not overlook the main factor -- the interests of the general, of that which does not disunite, but, rather, unites the workers of all nationalities: their striving for freedom, independence, social justice, the interests of uniting the forces of all peoples in the struggle for a better future for socialism.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians, as well as revisionists, are spreading the false idea that Soviet Communists deny the national and other peculiarities of various countries and feel that all the Communist Parties must work in accordance with the model of the CPSU. The only interesting thing is, what model do they have in mind? At the 8th RKP(b) Congress Lenin said, "It would be an error if we simply copied out, by stereotype, decrees for all the places in Russia, if the Communist-Bolsheviks and the Soviet workers in the Ukraine and on the Don began, indiscriminately and pell-mell, disseminating them to

other oblasts. It will be necessary to experience a lot of individuality. In no instance do we bind ourselves by stereotypic uniformity. We do not decide once and for all that our experience, the experience of central Russia, can be entirely transferred to all the outlying areas"<sup>31</sup>.

Lenin felt -- and this is admitted by all the Marxist-Leninist parties -- that the art of guiding the revolutionary-transformational activity of the working class consists in the skillful application of the general principles of Marxism to the specific conditions in each country. And in practice there is not a single country -- not in Europe, not in Asia, or in America -- where revolution and socialistic reforms would be a mechanical repetition of someone else's experience. That is known even to the authors of the anti-Soviet fantasies, which have a completely definite purpose: under the flag of national "peculiarities" to push the communist parties specifically toward national limitation, toward the rejection of Marxist-Leninist internationalistic principles, that is, to disarm them in the face of the enemies who, despite all their internecine bickering about profits, know how to act as a single front when they see a threat to their class interests. Lenin noted the indisputable fact that the alliance of the imperialists of all countries is an alliance that is natural and inevitable for the defense of capital, and an alliance that does not know any homeland. That capital proved, by many very large-scale, stupendous episodes in world history, that it places higher than the interests of any homeland, the nation, or anything else the protection of its alliance of capitalists of all countries against the workers<sup>32</sup>.

Of course, it would be very profitable for the imperialists for the Communists in each country to construct "national" theories of the transition to socialism, which ignore the common natural laws underlying socialist revolution and socialist construction that have passed the test of historical experience, and if, each time, they operated by the trial and error method, undermining trust in themselves in their policy.

The CPSU considers itself to be an inseparable part of the worldwide army of Communists. It has also taken close to its heart both the successes and the failures of the revolutionary-liberation, creative struggle in any country. The CPSU has especially close relations with the fraternal parties in the countries in the socialist community. The Soviet Union, having traveled the longest path of the construction of the new society, and performing the role of trailblazer, has always rendered to the fraternal nations every kind of economic, political, and moral assistance, and has always used all its power to protect them from the attempts of armed aggression by the imperialists. And this has been despite the stubborn attempts of imperialism, beginning with the civil war and the intervention of 1918-1920 and up to the present-day hostile actions of the American imperialists, to retard the development of the Soviet state.

The most valuable thing that the CPSU, the Soviet nation, and its socialist state attempted to transmit to all the fighters for socialism is the very rich and varied experience in the creation of a new society. "That experience will not be forgotten," Lenin said, ". . . Whatever happens, however difficult the tribulations of the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution, this experience cannot be removed. It has become part of history

as a gain of socialism, and on that experience the future international revolution will construct its socialist building"<sup>33</sup>.

The internationalistic policy of the CPSU, its support of the struggle waged by all nations for their freedom and independence and for social progress, the unceasing struggle for peace throughout the world and against the warmongers reinforce the party's authority throughout the world and within our country. Because peace is the absolutely first condition not only for prosperity, but also, during the thermonuclear age, the very existence of mankind.

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The increase in the guiding role of the CPSU is guaranteed by the fact that it never overlooks the fact that the creator of history is the nation. It is not the party, but the nation, under its guidance, that carries out revolutions, that builds a new society. And the nation consists not only of workers, and those workers do not suddenly or all at once become aware of their class interests. As long ago as 1864 Marx remarked, "One of the elements of success -- numerical size -- also exists among the workers; but size resolves the matter only when the mass is encompassed by organization and is guided by knowledge"<sup>34</sup>. Both factors are provided to the working class and to the entire mass of workers by the Marxist-Leninist party. When the party constantly deepens its ties with the masses and feels their needs and concerns, its strength and role in social life increase. In turn, the strength of the nation, its creative capabilities multiply, if it has as its leader the Marxist-Leninist party. However, the party does not earn the trust of the masses once and for all. One should not think, for example, that, as a result of the successes in the construction of socialism, all the workers have acquired solidly and perpetually a socialist political philosophy, and that they will accept the party's advice as completely self-explanatory. The awareness, the moods of the workers are formed under the effect of various factors of an internal and external order, the ideological influence both of the Communists and the enemies of socialism from abroad, and, in a few places, also within the socialist countries. And, moreover, each new generation of people encounters the problem of working out for themselves a socialist awareness which has not been genetically coded.

Directed toward the ideological, labor, and moral indoctrination of all the Soviet citizens in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, toward the indoctrination of active and aware builders of communism, is all the party's ideological, political-indoctrinational work, the tasks and content of which were thoroughly considered at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. And that is completely natural. Each step that we take is complicated in a new way and is difficult in a new way. And "the more difficult, the larger, the more responsible the new historical task is, the larger the number of people must be, millions of whom must be called upon to participate independently in the resolution of these tasks"<sup>35</sup>, Lenin taught.

Therefore Lenin required at all stages of socialist construction "the sober watching of the actual state of the awareness and level of preparation precisely of the entire class (rather than just its Communist vanguard), precisely the

entire working mass (rather than only its advanced persons)"<sup>36</sup>. And this is possible when the party actually lives in the very midst of the masses of the people, knows their moods and the degree of their readiness to understand and accept various party slogans. This does not mean, of course, that the party keeps an eye on the masses and passively records the degree of their ideological-political maturity, or adapts to the average level of the consciousness of the masses. In this sense Lenin remarked that "we shall not obey all the instructions of the masses, since the masses also lend themselves sometimes . . . to moods that are by no means advanced ones"<sup>37</sup>. With regard to the question of the relationship between the party and the masses, he expressed an idea that the 2nd Comintern Congress made the property of the entire international communist and workers movement: the party "exists precisely. . . for the purpose of proceeding ahead of the masses and pointing out the path to the masses"<sup>38</sup>. The party wins this position in the vanguard of the struggle for the interests of the workers, who learn not only and not so much in books and pamphlets as they do in the experience of life.

As is well known, public ownership and collectivism are the basic mainstays of socialism and the Soviet way of life. The improvement of developed socialism, then, is primarily the reinforcement of these mainstays and the consistent elimination from all social relations of everything that hinders that. Therefore the party calls upon the entire nation to take conscious part in this process. Lenin, in his day, recommended to the masses that they experience various methods to "correct the corrigible elements among the rich men, bourgeois intellectuals, swindlers, and hooligans"<sup>39</sup>. Since that time, our society has changed to be point of unrecognizability. For a long time our society has not had any exploiters, but we still have swindlers of various "modifications," from the petty sneak thief to the "intellectual" bribe-taker. And the nation, of course, has a vital interest in the execution of the Leninist behest "that not a single swindler (including one who is shirking his work) should walk the streets freely. 'Whoever doesn't work, doesn't eat,' is the practical commandment of socialism. That is what should be done on the practical level"<sup>40</sup>. And this is a matter of nationwide control and the practical participation of the workers in administration.

Herein lies the importance of the development of socialist democracy in all spheres of the vital activity of society, which has constantly been the concern of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, encouraging the initiative and undertakings of the workers and the active participation of the state and public organizations, and primarily the Soviets, trade unions, and youth unions.

The meaning and content of Soviet democracy are seen by the CPSU not in formal actions, but, rather, in the actual involvement of broad masses of the people in the constant administration of the country and public affairs, in assuring that the activity of the entire political system is directed at improving the developed socialist society, which gives broad scope to the complete development of the individual who is striving to satisfy his intelligence material and spiritual needs. "Everything for man," is the party motto. And the party explains to the masses that the implementation of that motto is the result of the conscious, organized, purposeful activity of all the workers, of every Soviet citizen.

Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, when attacking the thesis of the increase in the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party, present the situation to

gullible people as though the intensification of the guiding role of the communist party in the socialist countries means "an encroachment upon democracy and human freedom." And what about proof? They can find it! For example, as a result of their espionage or other criminal activity, certain people have been brought to the accountability that has been stipulated by legislation that is based on a Constitution that has been approved by the entire nation. Instances such as this do exist and will continue to exist as long as the state and people who violate its laws exist. But this has absolutely nothing to do with the question of democracy, if one does not confuse it with the anarchical self-will of any individualist, hooligan, or parasite. The party leadership of the masses not only does not infringe upon the initiative, spontaneity, or rights of the workers, but also directly presupposes their steady development and expansion, the protection of society against antisocial and criminal elements.

The reinforcement of the ties with the masses is promoted by the work style of the party, its administrative committees and organizations, and all the Communists, when they converse with people seriously and frankly, without bypassing the sharp angles or touchy questions, when they help to raise the level of political culture of the workers, striving for a situation in which every person is not simply a conscientious worker who is willing to execute orders, but is also a conscious participant in social life.

In essence, the problem of the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the political system of socialist society can be summarized in the final analysis as the problem of the link between the party and the masses, the ability and capability of the party to organize, indoctrinate, and politically lead their conscious activity. The Leninist party not only teaches the masses, but also learns from them. Herein lies the very profound essence of the tie that the party has with the masses. "It is the duty of the party of Communists," Comrade K. U. Chernenko remarks, "constantly to verify its course, its decisions and actions primarily against the thoughts of the working class, with its tremendous sociopolitical and class sense. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin always placed a high evaluation upon the directness, the living substantiation, and the clarity of the judgments made by the working man, always listened sensitively to his opinion and to his evaluations of events and people, and searched for and found in them the answers to the most vitally pressing questions.

"Listening attentively to the word that is coming from the workers, from the front line of socialist construction, heeding the advice of people of labor -- those are the things which today must be the absolutely primary obligation, the profound inner need of every Communist administrator"<sup>41</sup>.

In the reliance upon the nation lies the pledge of the increase in the guiding role of the party in the life of Soviet society. In essence, the party's entire ideological and organizational work, its activity in improving the forms and methods of its leadership, and the organization of its internal life have been directed toward the complete reinforcement of the link with the masses and the conscious trust and support provided by the nation.

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Developing the absolutely fundamental ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin taught that the Communist Party is part of the working class, is its most aware and most

organized vanguard, a vanguard that leads after itself the working class and its allies, and, after the socialist revolution, "the directly ruling vanguard of the proletariat"<sup>42</sup>.

Under the conditions of developed socialism the party of the working class is the vanguard of the entire nation. The party preserves and consolidates this position in society both by the careful regulation of its own composition, and by the improvement of the organization of its internal life, by the constant increase in the demandingness made on all Communists, primary organizations, and committees of the party from bottom to top.

The existence in the party ranks of worthy and dedicated representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intellectual class, and the supplementing of its ranks with active builders of communism and the best people from all categories of workers, are the pledge of the successful fulfillment by the party of its historic intention. It is precisely for this reason that the CPSU keeps such a strict watch on the purity of the party ranks, and clears its ranks of extraneous, unworthy persons. During the five years after the 25th Congress the party removed from its ranks, as a result of actions that are incompatible with the rank of Communist, almost 300,000 persons. "No indulgences for anyone when it is a matter of the honor and authority of our party and the purity of its ranks!"<sup>43</sup> was the emphatic statement made in the Report of the Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress.

The party makes strict demands upon the Communists. And this is natural: a Communist is a leader in communist construction. He is a representative of the party in any collective and acts not only in word -- by explaining the party's policy and by issuing appeals -- but also and primarily by deed, by his personal example on the job, in sociopolitical life, and in his everyday life.

As long ago as 1919 Lenin said about communist "subbotniks" [volunteer labor days]: "Nothing helped so much to increase the authority of the Communist Party in the city or to increase the respect on the part of the non-party workers to the Communists as these 'subbotniks' did, when they ceased being an individual phenomenon and when the non-party workers actually saw that the members of the dominant Communist Party were bearing obligations themselves and the Communists were allowing new members into the party not so that they could enjoy the benefits linked with the position of the governmental party, but so that they could serve as an example of truly communist labor. . ."<sup>44</sup>

It is recommended to the party organizations that they discuss the questions of acceptance into the party and, as a rule, the personal files of the Communists at open party meetings, in order to know the collective's opinion about the Communist or the person who intends to enter the party.

An especially large role is also played by the personal responsibility borne to the party by the Communists who have been elected to party agencies. Commenting on this, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the February 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "Any elected post in our party is a responsible post. Election to a party committee should be viewed as a kind of confidence credit that has been issued by the party members to their comrades. And that confidence must be justified by selfless labor. That is the mandate of the participants in the meetings and conferences that have been held"<sup>45</sup>.

Non-party workers frequently judge the party as a whole on the basis of the behavior of individual Communists, individual party groups and party organizations in various situations in life. And one ought not to assuage oneself by feeling that this judgment is, of course, not scientific. But even a commonplace idea that is fed by examples from real life (examples that frequently are exaggerated by rumors) is something difficult to overcome by the most impeccable discussions, lectures, and reports. The incidents that exert an especially strong effect in undermining the authority of the primary party organization and thus indirectly cast a shadow upon the party are the instances of use of state or public property or one's official positions for purposes of personal enrichment.

The high moral gauge that is applied to each Communist is a necessary condition for guaranteeing the increase in the authority that has been won by the party and for increasing the ideological influence among the masses, without the trust and support of which the successful carrying out by the party of its guiding role in society would be inconceivable. Attaching tremendous importance to the personal example of the Communists, the CPSU Central Committee in the decree entitled "The Conducting of Reports and the Holding of Elections in Primary, Rayon, City, Okrug, Oblast, and Kray Party Organizations" pointed out: "When defining the tasks of increasing the vanguard role of the Communists, it is necessary to take into more complete consideration the force of the moral example of the party members and candidate members, especially the leaders, and to require irreproachable personal behavior from each of them. It is necessary to keep strictly accountable those who deviate from the norms of party morality and the requirement of the CPSU Rules"<sup>46</sup>.

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"Our nation rightfully links all our achievements with the multifaceted activity of the CPSU -- the guiding and directing force of Soviet society. . ."<sup>47</sup> is the statement that is emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress." And if one attempts to formulate the briefest answer to the question, "In what manner does the party guarantee the constant increase of its guiding role in society," that answer would be approximately the following:

-- it takes all steps to preserve and develop the features and peculiarities that are typical of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and is invariably guided by Leninist norms of party life and principles of party guidance that have been tested by experience;

-- it maintains the purity of the fundamental mainstays of Marxist-Leninist theory; it is guided by that theory and develops it in all directions on the basis of the dialectical-materialistic analysis of the real conditions, phenomena, and tendencies in social life;

-- it keeps a strict watch on the correctness and scientific substantiation of its political line and the inflexible implementation of that line by all the organizations and departments, all the cadres of the party and the state, taking all steps to promote their independent actions and increasing the demandingness for the economic, social, and indoctrinational consequences of their actions;

-- it preserves as the apple of its eye the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks, increases the demands made on the Communists, guaranteeing their vanguard role in all sectors of communist construction;

-- it does not become complacent about the achieved successes, however great they may be, and is always ready to subject to critical analysis the results of the activity of any of its links or the party as a whole, in order promptly to reveal any omissions or errors and to correct them;

-- in its political philosophy, in economic, social, and other public relations, and in foreign policy it is invariably guided by the principles of proletarian, socialistic internationalism;

-- by means of its entire policy and its organizational and ideological work it reinforces the tie with the masses and reinforces the unity of the party and the nation;

-- -- as the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, the party serves as an example of the democratic organization of its entire life, and works out and develops the democratic principles which enter into all spheres of socialist everyday life, as is one of the most important manifestations of the guiding role in the life of society, and its ideological-political and moral influence upon the masses;

-- it mobilizes all the Communists for the working out and implementation of the party's policy;

-- it involves the entire nation in the conscious participation in the discussion and implementation of the party's plans.

It is necessary, as is noted in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia in Improving the Style and Methods of Activity of Party Organizations in the Light of the Decisions of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee," "to develop and confirm in the activity of the party agencies, and all the administrative cadres, a creative, scientific approach to the resolution of the problems confronting them, to develop and confirm genuinely Leninist efficiency, firm adherence to party principles, a self-critical attitude, personal responsibility, and the ability to rely on the collective intelligence and experience of the masses, to exert an active influence upon their moods, and to react sensitively to the demands of the workers. It is necessary to continue to intensify the work of reinforcing state, planning, and labor discipline, order, and organizational spirit in all sectors"<sup>48</sup>.

Thus, it can be asserted that the increase in the guiding role of the party in the life of society is not only objectively necessary, but is also a consciously controllable process. And it is controlled by the party itself with the aid of the entire Soviet nation, which has a vital interest in this.

At the February 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K. U. Chernenko remarked, "All our experience confirms that a very important source of the party's strength has always been, is now, and will always be its link with the masses,

the civic participation of millions of the workers, their economical approach toward matters on the job, and toward the problems of public life"<sup>49</sup>. And to the same degree to which the nation that is building communism needs the political guidance of the party, the party needs the understanding and the complete support of its policy by the entire nation and, by means of its policy and its organizational and ideological-indoctrinational work, it strives for this on a daily basis.

The party is entering a period of the immediate preparation for its 27th Congress. The reports and elections that have come to an end in the party organizations have demonstrated "the further increase in the guiding role of the party, the high level of the awareness and rate of participation of the Communists, the unshakable unity of the party and the nation, their solidarity around the CPSU Central Committee, and their firm resolve to fight constantly for the implementation of the Leninist course of domestic and foreign policy"<sup>50</sup>.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Chernenko, K. U., "Izbrannye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], 2nd ed., enlarged, Moscow, 1984, pp 495-518.
2. See Petrenko, F. F., "Rukovodstvo Kommunisticheskoy partii -- zakonomernost' stroitel'stva sotsializma i kommunizma" [Guidance by the Communist Party -- A Natural Law Regulating the Building of Socialism and Communism], Moscow, 1978; Petrovichev, N. A., "Vozrastaniye rukovodyashchey roli KPSS i voprosy organizatsionno-politicheskoy raboty" [The Increase in the Guiding Role of the CPSU and Questions of Political-Organizational Work], Moscow, 1982; "Zakonomernosti razvitiya marksistsko-leninskoy partii" [Natural Laws Underlying the Development of the Marxist-Leninist Party], Moscow, 1983; etc.
3. See Yaruzel'skiy, V. [Jaruzelski, W.], "What the Polish Experience Tells Us," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 11, 1983.
4. Marks [Marx], F., Engel's [Engels], F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 437.
5. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 4, pp 182-183.
6. Ibid., Vol 6, p 25.
7. Chernenko, K. U., "Izbrannye rechi i stat'i", p 498.
8. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984" [Materials of the 13 February 1984 Extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee], Moscow, 1984, p 16.
9. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 20, p 357.
10. Ibid., Vol 44, p 39.
11. Andropov, Yu. V., "Izbrannye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], 2nd ed., Moscow, 1983, p 247.

12. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 6, p 9.
13. Ibid., Vol 31, p 135.
14. Ibid., Vol 44, p 417; "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda", p 9.
15. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 36, p 173.
16. Marks, K., Engel's, F., "Soch.", Vol 8, pp 341-342,
17. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 25, p 79.
18. Ibid., Vol 14, p 126.
19. Ibid., Vol 37, p 303.
20. Ibid., Vol 23, p 77.
21. Ibid., Vol 41, pp 40-41.
22. Ibid., Vol 45, p 118.
23. Ibid., Vol 44, p 151.
24. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], p 74.
25. "Ustav Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [CPSU Rules], Moscow, 1981, p 11.
26. Marks, K., Engel's, F., "Soch.", Vol 29, p 495.
27. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 54, p 73.
28. See Marks, K., Engel's, F., "Soch.", Vol 19, p 22.
29. Ibid., Vol 16, pp 10-11.
30. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 7, p 325.
31. Ibid., Vol 38, p 144.
32. See ibid., Vol 36, pp 328-329.
33. Ibid., p 383.
34. Marks, K., Engel's, F., "Soch.", Vol 16, p 10.
35. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 36, p 446.
36. Ibid., Vol 41, p 42.
37. Ibid., Vol 44, pp 122-123.

38. "Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional v dokumentakh" [The Communist International in Documents], Moscow, 1933, p 105.
39. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 35, p 204
40. Ibid., p 203.
41. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda," pp 11-12.
42. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 42, p 294.
43. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 68.
44. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 39, p 380.
45. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda," p 21.
46. PRAVDA, 14 August 1983.
47. "O 80-letii Vtorogo s"yezda RSDRP" [The 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress], Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, 31 March 1983, Moscow, 1983, p 9.
48. PRAVDA, 15 December 1983.
49. "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda," p 11.
50. "Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, Entitled 'The Basic Results of the Reports and Elections in the Party and the Tasks of the Party Organizations,'" PRAVDA, 18 March 1984.

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## NATIONAL

### HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LENIN'S 'A LETTER TO COMRADES' EXPLORED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 84 (signed to press 3 Apr 84)  
pp 6-17

[Article by A.M. Sovokin, doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric, "Leninism -- The Revolutionary Banner of Our Epoch,": "Lenin's 'A Letter to Comrades' -- A Source Study of V.I. Lenin's Manuscript"]

[Text] In the ideological legacy of V.I. Lenin, his letters to the party, its Central Committee, representatives of the international revolutionary movement, state and party activists, and workers, peasants, soldiers, and his relatives occupy an important place. The letters of V.I. Lenin, published in his "Complete Works," have been analyzed by Soviet Leninologists.<sup>1</sup> Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades" is one of those letters which is of theoretical and practical significance. In it, as in other pre-October letters of V.I. Lenin to the Central Committee of the RSDRP(b) [Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (of Bolsheviks)] and the capital party committee, an in-depth Marxist analysis of the forces of the revolution and the counterrevolution is given and the confidence of the party of bolsheviks in the victory of the proletariat is substantiated.

Even today this letter is of timely significance for the CPSU and the whole international communist movement. The manuscript, "A Letter to Comrades," which was found and has already been reported in the press,<sup>2</sup> makes it possible to examine the conditions under which this letter was written and published, peek into the laboratory of Lenin's creativity, and draw attention to the historical significance of this letter by V.I. Lenin which is remarkable in its theoretical depth.

"A Letter to Comrades" first came to light in the central organ of the party of bolsheviks -- the newspaper RABOCHIY PUT' on 19, 20, and 21 October 1917, that is, several days before the October armed rebellion. It was published in connection with the strike-breaking conduct of Kamenev and Zinov'yev, who initially spoke out against Lenin's plan of an armed rebellion at the meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee on 10 October and later, as a protest against the Central Committee decision, disseminated their declaration to the Petrograd, Moscow, Moscow Oblast, and Finland Oblast committees of the RSDRP, the bolshevik faction of the TsIK [Central Executive Committee], the Petrograd executive committee of Soviets of Worker and Soldier Deputies, and the bolshevik faction of the congress of the Soviets of the Northern Oblast. This declaration became the property of both the nonparty public and even the enemies of the revolution. On 17 October at 2000 in the evening, from an article by V. Bazarov in NOVAYA ZHIZN', V.I. Lenin found out that "a leaflet

had been circulated throughout the city, which, on behalf of two prominent bolsheviks, opposed the action." This means that Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's leaflet was distributed in Petrograd before the decision of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee of 16 October concerning the armed rebellion.

At the expanded meeting of the Central Committee, V.I. Lenin did not yet know about it, nor did he know that Kamenev and Zinov'yev were actually repeating in the leaflet what they had said to the important party organizations and members of factions of Soviets, that they were disputing the Central Committee decision and that their position was already known to the enemy. V.I. Lenin obtained the text of this declaration only after the meeting of the Central Committee, and in the "A Letter to Comrades" he used it, as well as his own record of their statements at the expanded meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee on 16 October 1917, and also the record of the speeches by other participants in the meeting. V.I. Lenin wrote it not for publication but only "for discussion with party members with whom he was in correspondence."<sup>3</sup> This explains the nature of the letter. His concluding remarks where he speaks of the article in NOVAYA ZHIZN' breathe anger and indignation at the "despicable idiots" from this newspaper and the "anonymous authors" of the manuscript leaflet, that is, Kamenev and Zinov'yev. And having found out that the declaration by Kamenev and Zinov'yev was being disseminated in intraparty circles and that agitation against the rebellion was being conducted, Lenin demanded that the "A Letter to Comrades" be printed "as soon as possible."<sup>4</sup>

It is also significant that on the eve of the publication of Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades," that is, on the day following the appearance of Bazarov's article in NOVAYA ZHIZN', this article received a sharp rebuke in RABOCHIY PUT'. The authors of the leaflet which V. Bazarov wrote about were in "brilliant isolation," said the editorial, while V. Bazarov himself demonstrated fundamental illiteracy for a Marxist. We do not know who the author of this article was, but one's attention is drawn to the fact that it cites the same excerpt from F. Engels' work "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany"<sup>5</sup> that V.I. Lenin cited in the brochure which was issued shortly before, entitled "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?"<sup>6</sup> This brochure was already familiar to Petrograd bolsheviks.

The day following the publication of the editorial "Marxist Attitude Toward Rebellion," that is, 19 October, the editors of RABOCHIY PUT' printed the first part of Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades." Now, since the Central Party Archives has received from camera man G.A. Levitan Lenin's manuscript of "A Letter to Comrades," which had been preserved in his family archives, the text of the manuscript of this letter may be compared with the text published in the "Works" of V.I. Lenin, printed in its first publication in RABOCHIY PUT'. The part of the manuscript which has been preserved (25 pages) corresponds to the text of the 34th volume of the "Complete Works," pp 398-406, 411-418; the manuscript of the text published on pages 406-411 has not yet been found.

Comparison of the text of the found manuscript with the published text has shown that the text of "A Letter to Comrades" printed in RABOCHIY PUT' reproduces Lenin's manuscript rather precisely. However, the text of the manuscript does differ slightly from the published one. Certain words and expressions are not the same in them. For example, it says in the manuscript that because of the incredibly rapid development of events the publicist "risks being constantly late or being proved ill-informed, especially if his writings appear after a delay." In the published text the words "s

zamedleniyem" [after a delay] are replaced by the words "s zapozdaniyem" [late] (p 398).

Addressing the "despicable idiots" of NOVAYA ZHIZN' and ridiculing them, V.I. Lenin writes that they claim to know historical examples of rebellions in which the masses of oppressed classes were "not engulfed by indifference toward the various servile early parliaments and toward empty acts of resolution-making." In the published text we read: "...toward empty acts of revolution-making" (p 418).

In the manuscript V.I. Lenin cites the following data on elections to the regional dumas of Moscow: "The percentage of bolshevik voters increased from 11 percent to 49.3 percent"; in the published text, the figure is to 49 1/3 percent (p 399). The RABOCHIY PUT' article does not take into account several type-size highlights which are preserved in the manuscript. At the end of the manuscript this text is crossed out: "Postscript. Now at 8 1/2." The figures are illegible.

Undoubtedly, V.I. Lenin's search for a more precise heading for the article is of significant interest to researchers. V.I. Lenin wrote and later crossed out the first three versions ("On the Damage or? Against the Vacillations of an Insignificant Part of the Bolsheviks," "Or Against Vacillations on the Question of Rebellion," and "On Disgraceful Vacillations Among an Insignificant Minority of the Bolsheviks") and left the heading "A Letter to Comrades" which is known to us. And in our opinion this is not accidental. In this article V.I. Lenin clearly writes: "a most insignificant minority of the gathering, specifically two comrades in all." Not "an insignificant part of the bolsheviks," but "a most insignificant minority of the gathering." Therefore, V.I. Lenin obviously rejected the initial heading versions having left the broad title -- an appeal to the party: "A Letter to Comrades."

The manuscript sent to the RABOCHIY PUT' editors was divided into parts for publication in three issues of the newspaper. At the end of each part is the signature "N. Lenin," given by the editors. Signs of the work of a typesetter are apparent; these attest to the fact that the text was composed directly from the manuscript. It should be noted that the quality of the typesetting and print is very high, despite the urgency of the work.

There is no doubt that V.I. Lenin saw the text which was published in RABOCHIY PUT'; it was brought to him at M.V. Fofanov's secret apartment. In addition, the first edition of the "Works" of V.I. Lenin, which contains "A Letter to Comrades," was published during the lifetime of Vladimir Il'ich and found in his Kremlin library.

Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades" attests to Lenin's sharp polemics with his opponents, reproduces Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's statements and in part those of their supporters, and makes it possible to supply missing parts of the text of the rather abbreviated protocol of the expanded meeting of the Central Committee.

In this way, V.I. Lenin's records supplement the protocol of the expanded meeting of the Central Committee.

Contemporary literature on the history of the Great October Revolution confirms that V.I. Lenin wrote "A Letter to Comrades" on 17 October 1917, after the expanded meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee which took place

on the evening of 16 October 1917. Study of the text of the letter and recollections of participants in the revolution make certain clarifications possible. This is all the more important since, as K. Marx wrote, dozens of years may be concentrated in great days: as active participants in the fight, the masses expand the limits of what is possible a thousand times. Inasmuch as the history of the revolution must be measured in days and hours, V.I. Lenin noted that a standard chronology is not applicable to revolution.<sup>7</sup> In order to prepare the revolution, especially on the threshold of the rebellion, not just a day, but every hour was significant, and consequently it is important to establish when -- morning, afternoon, or evening -- the Central Committee meeting ended, as well as when Lenin began work on the letter.

As is well known, the expanded meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee took place shortly after the meeting of the party Central Committee on 10 October where Lenin's proposal on rebellion was adopted. By 10 October Kamenev and Zinov'yev had already suffered defeat and their viewpoint rejected. Then, having violated the elemental norms of party life, they began to agitate the lower levels against the Central Committee decision. Evaluating their behavior, V.I. Lenin wrote to the Central Committee: "The question of an armed rebellion has been discussed at the center since September. That is when Zinov'yev and Kamenev could have and should have expressed themselves in written form so that everyone, having seen their conclusions, could evaluate their complete confusion. Hiding one's views from the party for a whole month before the decision was adopted and circulating a separate opinion after the decision means being a strike breaker."<sup>8</sup>

After distributing their protest statement against the RSDRP(b) Central Committee decision of 10 October on armed rebellion, Kamenev and Zinov'yev tried to defame the Central Committee decision at meetings with employees of the Central Committee and the Military Organization and set them against it. But their proposals were rejected initially at the emergency meeting of the RSDRP(b) PK [party commission] which took place on 15 October, and later at the expanded meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee.<sup>9</sup>

The party commission meeting preceding the expanded meeting of the Central Committee was set for 1800 on Sunday.<sup>10</sup> The Central Committee resolution of 10 October was read there. Central Committee member Bubnov and representatives of rayon organizations reported on organizational-technical support of the armed rebellion and activities of the Military Organization. "The general situation is such," said Bubnov, "that armed rebellion is inevitable and the only question is conducting preparations for it. One of the best ways is going on the offensive."<sup>11</sup> It became clear from local reports that the masses were in an expectant mood. Some speakers expressed doubt that workers of a number of enterprises and even of certain rayons would come out. Nonetheless, these pessimistic notes, clearly generated by Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's views, did not shake the firm position of the members of the party commission. At the meeting Bubnov announced that it was called not to discuss the question of rebellion, which had been decided by the Central Committee and the Petrograd Conference, but to discuss technical questions. The party commission adopted the theses proposed by the executive commission which envisioned calling a conference of all active rayon workers, adopting measures for regular, militant agitation, organizing combat technical-information centers in party raykoms, establishing precise communications among the Central Committee, the party commission, raykoms, and plant and other organizations, and accelerating work on mass military training for workers.<sup>12</sup> Measures adopted by the Petersburg Committee in connection

with intensifying the struggle played an important role in bringing all Red Guard detachments to combat readiness and organizing their communications with army units and with the rebellion combat headquarters -- the Central Committee of the party.

All means for preparing the rebellion and the leadership of the revolutionary army of the proletariat lay in the hands of V.I. Lenin. He summoned workers of the Central Committee, the party commission, the local committees, and the Military Organization under the Central Committee of the RSDRP(b) for discussion and met with Sverdlov, Dzerzhinskiy, Kalinin, Podvoyskiy, Antonov-Ovseyenko, Nevskiy, Kedrov, Pyatnitskiy, and others.<sup>13</sup> V.I. Lenin thoroughly studied the forces of revolution and counterrevolution and gave precise instructions for organizing the Red Guard and military units and sailors who had come over to the side of the Soviets and for developing a plan of practical actions by military detachments.

The day and hour of the decisive battles approached. After the meeting of the Petersburg Committee which calculated combat forces in Petrograd rayons, a meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee was illegally convened again. Invited to it were representatives of the executive commission of the party committee, the Military Organization, the Petrograd Soviet, trade unions, factory and plant committees, the Petrograd Okrug Committee, and railway workers, that is, of all the main revolutionary centers of Petrograd. The meeting summed up discussion of the Central Committee resolution locally and examined the question of the preparedness of the workers and soldiers of the capital for armed rebellion.

Inasmuch as many of the participants came to the expanded meeting of the Central Committee from the meeting of the RSDRP(b) which ended on Sunday evening, 15 October, it may rightfully be said that it began on Sunday night before 16 October, and ended on Monday morning, 16 October.<sup>14</sup> Both Lenin's letter and recollections of participants in the meeting confirm this.

At the very beginning of the letter V.I. Lenin noted: "I will indicate what information I possess, from which date," and later: "It was only on Monday, 16 October, in the morning, that I managed" to find out about the "very important bolshevik meeting which had taken place."<sup>15</sup>

Having indicated that on Monday morning, 16 October, he saw a comrade who had participated in this meeting in Petrograd, V.I. Lenin pointed out the precise time of the expanded meeting of the Central Committee, inasmuch as it began in the night before 16 October, that is, the evening of 15 October (consequently he also calls it Sunday) and continued all night, while the decisions were adopted by the meeting early in the morning of 16 October.<sup>16</sup> The expanded meeting of the Central Committee also became part of history as a meeting on 16 October 1917.

Lenin's data was fully confirmed by A.V. Shotman and E.A. Rakh'ya, participants in the expanded meeting who accompanied V.I. Lenin and unanimously confirm that the meeting began late in the evening since many people were late; in connection with this Vladimir Il'ich "swore very strongly about the tardiness of very important comrades."<sup>17</sup> It must be kept in mind that it is true that many participants in the meeting arrived immediately after the Central Committee meeting which, as was already noted, began at 1800 hours in Smol'nyy. Ye.A. Alekseyeva wrote about the fact that the expanded meeting of the Central Committee took place on a stormy fall night and had

interruptions.<sup>18</sup> The meeting ended in the morning, which E.A. Rakh'ya and A.V. Shotman recalled. "At 0600 hours I began to talk about it being time to disperse; otherwise, I said, it will be dangerous since it will soon be dawn and traffic will start," wrote E.A. Rakh'ya. "Vladimir Il'ich agreed with this." "At about 0700 hours a resolution for a vote was proposed by Vladimir Il'ich (A.V. Shotman)."<sup>19</sup> Many participants in this historical meeting recalled that according to Lenin's report almost everyone present spoke out so that "debate dragged on until 0700 hours."<sup>20</sup>

And now about the Central Committee meeting itself. Before hearing the representatives of the revolutionary centers of Petrograd, V.I. Lenin presented a report on the 10 October meeting of the Central Committee. He was well informed of the situation locally by members of the Central Committee, the Military Organization under the Central Committee, and E.A. Rakh'ya, who, on assignment, had gathered information on the mood of the soldiers and workers and had expressed their evaluation of the meetings which had taken place and their attitude to the bolsheviks. N.K. Krupskaya, M.I. Ul'yanova, A.V. Shotman, and others who met with Lenin informed him. In his report Lenin devoted basic attention to the question of rebellion, not going into analysis of practical data on its preparation, preferring to hear the reports by representatives of the centers first. Once again he emphasized that objective analysis both of the international and the domestic situation of the country led to the conclusion that armed rebellion to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest strata of the peasantry had become paramount. "From political analysis of the class struggle both in Russia and in Europe," said V.I. Lenin, "stems the need for the most decisive and active policy, which can only be armed rebellion."<sup>21</sup>

Sverdlov spoke immediately after Lenin's report on the country's situation. He noted that the Bolshevik Party had greatly increased in number and that bolsheviks' influence had grown in the soviets, the army, and the navy.

Sverdlov also called the attention of the meeting to the revival of counterrevolutionary forces in the Donetsk Region, the North Front, and Minsk.

Reports were given by G.I. Bokiy from the Petersburg Committee, N.V. Krylenko from the Military Organization, S.F. Stepanov from the Petrograd Okrug Organization, V. Volodarskiy from the Petrograd Soviet, N.A. Skrypnik from the factory and plant committees, V.V. Shmidt from the trade unions, and I.M. Moskvin from the railroad workers. Pessimistic notes in regard to rebellion were heard in the speeches of V.P. Milyutin and A.V. Shotman. Then Lenin took the floor and presented facts which showed that the bolsheviks had vast opportunities to fight and take power, and also proposed that "debates be conducted on the level of discussing the essence of the resolution."<sup>22</sup> However, Kamenev and Zinov'yev once again, as at the previous meeting of the Central Committee, insisted that it was necessary to wait until the congress of Soviets and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. They tried to prove that the Central Committee resolution of 10 October had failed and demanded its repeal. Not counting on support, they began to maneuver and proposed that rebellion not be started before meeting with bolshevik delegates to the congress of Soviets. According to Lenin, they suggested turning the question of armed rebellion over to "that collegium which does not know party regulations, which has no authority over the Central Committee, and which does not know Petrograd."<sup>23</sup> M.I. Kalinin, N.V. Krylenko, Ya.M. Sverdlov, N.A. Skrypnik, I.V. Stalin, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, M.I. Latsis, I.A. Rakh'ya, and other participants in the meeting spoke out decisively against these capitulators

who had slipped into the Trotskyite position of waiting for the congress of Soviets. In summarizing the debates, V.I. Lenin said: "If all resolutions failed in that way, there would be nothing better to hope for. If rebellion is politically inevitable, then rebellion should be regarded in the same way as art."<sup>24</sup> Lenin proposed ratifying the Central Committee resolution of 10 October, immediately preparing for armed rebellion, and granting the Central Committee and the Petrograd Soviet the right to determine the moment of rebellion. With a vote of 19 for, 2 against, and 4 abstaining, the expanded meeting of the Central Committee adopted Lenin's resolution which said: "The meeting fully welcomes and completely supports the Central Committee resolution, appeals to all organizations and all workers and soldiers to thoroughly and intensively prepare for armed rebellion and to support the center set up for this by the Central Committee, and expresses complete assurance that the Central Committee and the Soviet will indicate in a timely manner the opportune moment and efficient methods of attack."<sup>25</sup> At a closed meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee it was decided to appoint the Military-Revolutionary Center composed of Ya.M. Sverdlov, I.V. Stalin, A.S. Bubnov, M.S. Uritskiy, and F.E. Dzerzhinskiy which would become part of the Military-Revolutionary Committee. Lenin's policy on armed rebellion conquered completely and the bolshevik party continued its most energetic preparation for decisive battle against the power of the capitalists.

After the adoption of the resolution and the conclusion of the closed meeting of the Central Committee, V.I. Lenin was the first to leave the building of the Lesnovsko-Udel'ninskiy Duma, which was a 20-25 minute walk from the secret apartment. "There was a strong wind and it was raining buckets," recalled E.A. Rakh'ya. "The wind tore off Vladimir Il'ich's hat and flung it in the water along with his wig, but at that point Il'ich was so upset by Zinov'yev's and Kamenev's speeches against him that, having picked up his hat, he put it on his head wet and did not even pay attention to my advice to clean it. The whole way he talked about the fundamental differences between Zinov'yev and Kamenev and their supporters and him, and spoke about them in a very sharp manner."<sup>26</sup> In all probability, on the way back from the Central Committee meeting the plan for the letter which he later wrote matured in Lenin's mind.

He arrived at the secret apartment in the morning, had breakfast,<sup>27</sup> rested after the difficult night, and then began to write "A Letter to Comrades." And now, 65 years after its creation, the precious manuscript is available to us.

When he began work on "A Letter to Comrades" V.I. Lenin still did not know that Kamenev and Zinov'yev would not stop at disgraceful vacillations on the question of armed rebellion, but would speak out against their own party and give Rodzyanko and Kerenskiy the Central Committee decision on armed rebellion and the time of the action.

In his introduction to "A Letter to Comrades," V.I. Lenin condemned with complete resoluteness Kamenev and Zinov'yev and their disgraceful vacillations which were "capable of having a destructive influence on the party, the international proletariat movement, and the revolution."<sup>28</sup>

The expanded meeting of the Central Committee, which was represented as the "most influential of all sectors of bolshevik work in the capital," fully supported Lenin's policy on armed rebellion. Only two people, Kamenev and

Zinov'yev, "a pair of comrades who had lost their principles," took an anti-Leninist position, and their arguments were "remarkable manifestations of confusion, fear, and failure of all the basic ideas of bolshevism and revolutionary proletarian internationalism."

In "A Letter to Comrades" V.I. Lenin thoroughly analyzed the conclusions of Kamenev and Zinov'yev, revealed their disgraceful vacillations, and demonstrated how dangerous they were.

In response to Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's assertion that the party did not include the majority of people without whom the rebellion would be hopeless, V.I. Lenin proved, based on reality, that such an assertion camouflaged an escape from reality, inasmuch as all events in the history of the revolution, especially after the July events and the reign of Kornilov, had proven that "to doubt now that the majority of the people are for or will be for the bolsheviks means to vacillate disgracefully, to throw away all principles of proletarian revolutionism, and to repudiate bolshevism completely."<sup>29</sup>

Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's reasoning that, supposedly, "We are not strong enough to take power," Lenin considered a rehash of the argument that the majority of the people were not for the bolsheviks and showed pessimism concerning the workers and optimism concerning the bourgeoisie. Their behavior signified in fact a political shift to the side of the bourgeoisie and a rejection of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Although the question of armed rebellion had been discussed in the party since September, Kamenev and Zinov'yev were afraid to say openly that they were opposed to the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Under the pretext of a "combined type" of authority of Soviets and the Constituent Assembly, they spoke out against transferring authority to the Soviets. In "A Letter to Comrades" V.I. Lenin carefully emphasizes the idea that implementation of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" is dependent upon whether military-technical preparations for the rebellion are completed. "Either go over to the 'Liberdanites' and openly reject the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets' or rebellion. There is no middle ground," wrote Lenin.<sup>30</sup> In speaking out against rebellion Kamenev and Zinov'yev fell into cowardly, "Liberdanites," SR-menshevik-type credulity toward the bourgeoisie, against which the bolsheviks had always spoken out, as they had against unconscious "peasant" credulity during preparations for the socialist revolution. The situation which developed on the eve of the revolution confirmed that if the bourgeoisie were not conquered by the proletariat and its allies during the armed rebellion, they would strangle the revolution and disperse the Soviets and the Constituent Assembly.

Using references to the Constituent Assembly and the combined type of Constituent Assembly and Soviets, Kamenev and Zinov'yev, whom Lenin defined as heroes of "constitutional illusions" and parliamentary cretinism, tried to prove that the course on armed rebellion was unrealistic and advocated the "most legal, loyal, and constitutional path." In his letter to his comrades V.I. Lenin unmasked the cowardice and submissiveness of these "peasants" who had made an appeal to wait for the Constituent Assembly. "We must stake everything on it," they lamented. "If the Kornilovs were again in power, then we would show them! But to begin ourselves, why risk it?" V.I. Lenin ridiculed this argument of Kamenev and Zinov'yev and proved that, frightened by the bourgeoisie, these intellectuals were proposing to build the tactics of the proletarian party on the possible repetition by Kornilovs of one of their old mistakes. Instead of recognizing the actual facts, confirmed by the history of the Russian revolution and the bolshevik party, that there was no

solution and there could not be in those conditions, -- either a dictatorship of the Kornilovs or a dictatorship of the proletariat, Kamenev and Zinov'yev made an appeal to wait for Kerenskiy to summon the Constituent Assembly and to carry out its decisions.

Not believing in the forces of the Russian proletariat and its party, Kamenev and Zinov'yev resorted to these pessimistic arguments which, in their opinion, could convince everyone that there was nothing within the country or in the international situation which obliged us to act quickly. Moreover, as they asserted, "We will more likely damage the work of socialist revolution in the West if we allow ourselves to be shot." V.I. Lenin completely obliterated this "sensible internationalism" of Kamenev and Zinov'yev, worthy of social-chauvinists like Sheydeman and Renodel' who skillfully "manipulated the workers' sympathy for the success of the international socialist revolution. V.I. Lenin considered the tactics proposed by Kamenev and Zinov'yev treachery, similar to the treachery of Sheydeman's followers against the German internationalists who "organized rebellion in the navy with perhaps one chance in one hundred," and treachery against the Russian peasants who rebelled against the landowners and the Kerenskiy government that defended them.

"Let the cloud of imperialist conspiracy of capitalists of all countries who are prepared to strangle the Russian revolution condense -- we will peacefully bide our time until we are strangled by the ruble!" V.I. Lenin wrote with sarcasm on Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's position. "Instead of falling on the conspirators and breaking their ranks through the victory of the Soviets of Worker and Soldier Deputies, we will await the Constituent Assembly, where all international conspirators will be conquered by votes, if Kerenskiy and Rodzyanko will in good faith summon the Constituent Assembly."<sup>31</sup>

Kamenev and Zinov'yev threatened the party with insurmountable difficulties which would arise immediately after the Soviets took power. They threatened the bolsheviks with isolation from other parties, especially the left mensheviks and the social revolutionaries, disruption of ties with railroad workers, and approaching famine, as well as the lack of a street fighting mood among the masses.

"A Letter to Comrades" is a sample of the solution to the most complex questions of the theory and practice of revolution and an example of the uncompromising struggle against capitulators in the most difficult and crucial stage of preparing for decisive battle. As regards the vacillations of left mensheviks and SR's, Lenin said that they expressed the leftward movement of the masses only indirectly; that their strength lay in their close connection with the peasant rebellion; and that bolsheviks had acquired the sympathy of the people by uncompromising criticism of those who vacillated. "In order to help those who are vacillating, each person must himself stop vacillating," concluded Lenin. "We have led them, ultimately, by not vacillating ourselves. And life has borne us out."<sup>32</sup>

By the example of the conduct of railroad workers and postal employees Lenin demonstrated that proletarian elements separated themselves out from the petty bourgeoisie and haute bourgeoisie among them as well during preparations for the proletarian revolution, and that the victory of the revolution "can satisfy the masses in the armies of railroad workers and postal and telegraph employees."<sup>33</sup>

In "A Letter to Comrades" it says that without armed rebellion and without the victory of the revolution, it is impossible to solve both problems of concluding peace and problems of the struggle against devastation and famine. Any postponement of rebellion enabled the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie to reach an understanding with the German militarists, while devastation and mass escape of soldiers from the front would only help strangle the revolution. It was precisely for this reason that Lenin believed that "delay in rebellion is like death."<sup>34</sup>

Kamenev and Zinov'yev and others of that ilk who had yielded to intimidation by the bourgeoisie drew conclusions about the mood of the masses, based on their capitulationist views. They did not want to know that the firm line of the bolshevik party and its resolve to overthrow the authority of the bourgeoisie and establish the authority of the Soviets had shaped the behavior of the masses. At the Central Committee meeting Lenin refuted Kamenev and Zinov'yev's assertions that, supposedly, "the masses on the street were not in a street fighting mood" with facts and the preceding experience of revolution. He demonstrated that "everyone" characterized the situation as focused and a matter of waiting, that "everyone" agreed that the workers spoke out unanimously for appealing to the Soviets and defending them; that the inevitability of the final decisive battle was clearly acknowledged; that the mood of the broad masses was close to despair; that politically conscious workers were dissatisfied with the indecisiveness of the centers and did not want go out onto the street just to demonstrate, for there was general rather than partial battle in the wind.

"No," V.I. Lenin concluded, "the position of those who, in talking about the mood of the masses, dump their own personal lack of will-power on the masses is hopeless. The masses are divided into those who are consciously waiting and the unconscious who are ready to fall into despair, but the masses of the oppressed and the hungry are not weak-willed."<sup>35</sup>

Kamenev and Zinov'yev's assertion that the Marxist party "cannot reduce the question of rebellion to the question of military conspiracy" was a cry of despair and alarmism. In regards to this V.I. Lenin noted that snatches of quotations from Marx that are taken out of context are the arguments of those "who are breaking with Marxism." And later on in "A Letter to Comrades" the example is cited of how Marxism must be understood and applied in the decisive days of revolution. "Military conspiracy," wrote V.I. Lenin, "is blankism if it is not organized by the party of a particular class; if its organizers have not taken into account the political aspect in general and the international aspect in particular; if, proven by objective facts, the majority of the people do not sympathize with this party's side; if the development of revolutionary events has not led to refutation in practice of the appeasement illusions of the petty bourgeoisie; if the majority of 'officially' acknowledged or otherwise proven organs of revolutionary struggle like the 'Soviets' are not conquered; if in the army (if the affair occurs during wartime) there is no fully mature mood against the government which drags out a war that is unjustified and against the will of the people; if slogans of the rebellion (like 'All Power to the Soviets,' 'Land to the Peasants,' 'Immediate Proposal of Democratic Peace to All Peoples Waging War Coupled With Immediate Repeal of Secret Treaties and Secret Diplomacy,' and so forth) have not received the most extensive publicity and recognition; if leading workers are not convinced of the desperate position of the masses and of support in the countryside, support proven by a serious peasant movement or

rebellion against landowners and the government that defends them; and if the country's economic situation inspires serious hopes for a favorable settlement of the crisis by peaceful and parliamentary means."<sup>36</sup> If we remove all the "if's," we will see Lenin's conclusion that all the objective and subjective prerequisites for successful armed rebellion existed in Russia.

In "A Letter to Comrades" V.I. Lenin demonstrated that Kamenev's and Zinov'yev's arguments against rebellion were examples of their remarkable confusion, fear, and break with all the basic ideas of bolshevism and revolutionary proletarian internationalism. Their conception of disbelief in the forces of the Russian working class and in the victory of socialist revolution was fully confirmed during the revolution [sic]. "This pair of comrades who had lost their principles," having begun with disgraceful vacillations on the question of rebellion, ended up as strike breakers. This "October episode" with Kamenev and Zinov'yev was not accidental, according to V.I. Lenin's determination in "A Letter to the Congress" in 1922. It was a direct result of their capitulationist concepts in the October period, which found its continuation in their struggle against Lenin's teachings on the possibility of developing socialism in the USSR.

The "Letter" was written by the evening of 17 October, when at 2000 the newspaper NOVAYA ZHIZN' containing V. Bazarov's article "The Marxist Attitude to Rebellion" was brought to V.I. Lenin. The article reported that the "manuscript of a leaflet had been circulated throughout the city, which, on behalf of two prominent bolsheviks, spoke out against the speech. This was Kamenev and Zinov'yev's declaration mentioned above. In half an hour V.I. Lenin wrote the "Concluding Remarks," under which he added: "Postscript. Now at 8 1/2," that is, at 2030 in the evening of 17 October. Naturally, when RABOCHIY PUT' published "A Letter to Comrades" on 19, 20, and 21 October, it left out this addition.

With Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades" the party of the bolsheviks undertook open agitation for rebellion. This agitation, like V.I. Lenin's subsequent letters to members of the party of the bolsheviks, to the RSDRP(b) Central Committee, and to Ya.M. Sverdlov, completely isolated Kamenev and Zinov'yev and exposed their disgraceful vacillations and capitulationist, strike-breaker position. Written the week before the great event, "A Letter to Comrades" was published in Kronstadt, Minsk, Kostroma, Yekaterinoslav and other cities after it was published in Petrograd. It was a document of enormous mobilizing power.

Lenin's manuscript "A Letter to Comrades" has once again reminded us of an important page in the biography of V.I. Lenin. Each line of this historical letter reveals the genius of V.I. Lenin, who in 24 hours wrote a work of more than a printer's sheet containing the most thorough analysis of the political moment in the period of the direct approach of armed rebellion. Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades" armed the party with an understanding of what had occurred and focused it on a decisive, uncompromising struggle to implement the decisions of the party's Central Committee on armed rebellion.

Lenin's letter includes a brief teaching on socialist revolution and on objective and subjective factors which insure its victory. V.I. Lenin contrasted the dogmatic and uncritical approach of Kamenev and Zinov'yev, who tried to conceal their breach with Marxism with references to Marx and Engels, with creative interpretation of Marxism and the ability to apply and develop it in accordance with the practical political situation in the Russian and international revolutionary movement. In "A Letter to Comrades," in the

article "The Crisis Has Matured," in the brochure "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" and in other pre-October works he revealed the prerequisites for a successful armed struggle and, based on certain facts of national significance, recreated a complete picture of the revolution and defined its socialist perspectives. V.I. Lenin demonstrated that the international conditions in which the Russian revolution developed were very favorable for its victory, inasmuch as the imperialists were engaged in war among themselves. This war led to an immense crisis and to the eve of revolution on a world scale. In characterizing the political situation of that time, V.I. Lenin wrote: "The crisis has matured. The whole future of the Russian revolution has been mapped out. All the honor of the party of bolsheviks is under question. The whole future of the international worker revolution for socialism has been mapped out."<sup>37</sup>

At the same time that the development of the class struggle both in Russia and in Europe irrefutably confirmed that the Russian proletariat had advanced to the leading edge of the struggle against imperialism and that the time had come for armed rebellion, Kamenev and Zinov'yev tried to turn the party of bolsheviks from the Leninist road and to prove that rebellion was untimely because it would supposedly damage the revolutionary movement in the West. Lenin's letter became a weapon of the bolsheviks against these capitulationist moods and a combat banner of proletarian internationalism.

In the decisive days of the revolution, V.I. Lenin set an example of creative interpretation and application of Marxist methodology to analyze events of the past and present. Despite the capitulationist arguments of Kamenev and Zinov'yev, in "A Letter to Comrades" V.I. Lenin proved that standing at the head of the revolution is the party of the bolsheviks, which in developing the strategy and tactics of the revolution took strict account of the country's domestic and international situation. Objective data on support of the Russian revolution by all of proletarian Europe and the distribution of class and party forces in the country were evidence that the workers, soldiers, peasants and their organizations, and above all the Soviets, supported the slogans of the bolsheviks. The Bolshevik Party saw that the international crisis had matured and that the "lower classes" did not want to live in the old way, while the "upper classes" could not govern in the old way. Shining success in October 1917 was achieved because the masses were organized in Soviets, in the first place, and because, in the second place, the enemy -- the bourgeoisie -- was undercut, undermined, and eroded by the lengthy political period from February through October, like a piece of ice by spring water, and had already completely collapsed within."<sup>38</sup>

Lenin's "A Letter to Comrades" definitively defeated the Kamenev-Zinov'yev conception of Russia's unreadiness for socialist revolution and closed the ranks of the bolshevik party on the eve of the decisive battle for Soviet power and for the victory of Great October. The experience of Great October, summarized in the works of V.I. Lenin, utterly and completely confirmed one of the assertions of Marxist-Leninist theory that the processes of socialist revolution are based on a number of general patterns characteristic of all countries which turn to socialism. Despite the uniqueness and specific features of Great October and socialist revolutions which followed it, basic features and patterns are discerned in them which cannot be disregarded without penalty. "A Letter to Comrades" once again has reminded us of this.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See G.D. Obichkin, and M.Ya. Pankratova, "Pis'ma Vladimira Il'icha Lenina. Po stranitsam Polnogo sobraniya sochineniy" [The Letters of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. From the Pages of the Complete Works], Moscow, 1968; 2nd ed, supplemented, Moscow, 1982.
2. See PRAVDA, 22 April 1983.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 34, p 417.
4. Ibid.
5. At this time V. I. Lenin did not know that this work belonged to Engels because it had been published first under Marx's signature. This was the publication that Lenin used. Marx in fact was preparing to write such a work, but asked Engels to study this problem because he was engaged in economic research. While writing "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany," Engels consulted with Marx, who looked over his manuscript before publication. Only after Marx and Engels' correspondence was published in 1913 did it become known that F. Engels wrote "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany." It was after the October Revolution before V. I. Lenin became familiar with this correspondence.
6. See Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 335. Lenin, who had not yet seen his brochure, indicated in "A Letter to Comrades" that he hoped "it would be coming out in a few days" (Ibid., p 416).
7. Ibid., Vol 12, p 12.
8. Ibid., Vol 34, p 424.
9. See "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Vol 3, Moscow, 1967, Book 1, pp 305-309.
10. The announcement of the meeting stated: "Extraordinary meeting of the Party Commission at 1800 on 15 October. Secretary G. Bokiy." (RABOCHIY PUT', No 35, 13/26 October 1917). The announcement was repeated in the Sunday edition of RABOCHIY PUT'.
11. "Pervyy legal'nyy Peterburgskiy komitet bol'shevikov v 1917 g. Sbornik materialov i protokolov" [The First Legal Petersburg Committee of Bolsheviks in 1917. Collection of Materials and Protocols], Moscow-Leningrad, 1927, p 309.
12. Ibid., p 317.
13. See "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographic Chronicle], Vol 4, Moscow, 1973, pp 383, 385, 386.
14. This question was posed for the first time in V.I. Startsev's monograph "Ot Razliva do Smol'nogo" [From the Flood to Smol'nyy], Moscow, 1977, p 155.
15. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 398.

16. See "Lenin. Oktyabr' semnadtsatogo" [Lenin. October of 1917], in 2 Vol, Vol 2, Moscow, 1977, pp 231-232.
17. Ibid., p 222.
18. Ibid., pp 225, 230.
19. Ibid., p 231.
20. "Posledneye podpol'ye Il'icha. Vospominaniya" [The Last Underground of Il'ich. Memoirs], Moscow, 1934, p 76.
21. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 395.
22. Ibid., p 396.
23. Ibid., p 426.
24. Ibid., pp 396-397.
25. Ibid., p 397.
26. Lenin, "Oktyabr'....," op. cit., Vol 2, p 232.
27. Ibid.
28. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 398.
29. Ibid., p 401. All the data available to us confirms the accuracy of Lenin's conclusion that the bolsheviks led the majority of the people on the eve of the October Revolution (See KOMMUNIST, No 16, 1981. A. Sovokin, "The Proletarian Revolution, the People's Revolution").
30. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 403.
31. Ibid., pp 407-408.
32. Ibid., p 409.
33. Ibid., p 410.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p 415.
36. Ibid., pp 415-416.
37. Ibid., p 280.
38. Ibid., Vol 38, p 43.

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CSO: 1800/424

## NATIONAL

### LVOV HOSTS ZONAL IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

AU061204 Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian, 1 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] RATAU--A zonal conference on questions concerning improvements in ideological work in the light of the decisions of the June 1983 and successive plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as of the directives given by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, was held in Lvov on 28-30 June.

Participating in the conference were party functionaries, leaders of the mass media and ideological institutions, as well as scientists of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, the republics of the Soviet Baltic Region, and political workers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The conference participants were addressed by V.G. Zakharov, Propaganda Department first deputy chief in the USSR Central Committee; V.I. Drugov, Administrative Organs Department first deputy chief in the CPSU Central Committee; V.F. Dobrik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Lvov Obkom first secretary; responsible workers of the Communist Party central committees in the union republics, the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, and the USSR Gosplan; representatives of scientific institutions, creative unions, and public organizations; and leaders of the press, radio, and television organs.

The conference discussed topical tasks confronting ideological work under the present conditions, and the ways of raising its effectiveness and of improving its forms and methods. Particular attention was paid to the questions of the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people, particularly of youths, and of shaping among the Soviet people irreconcilability to imperialist policy, bourgeois ideology, and propaganda.

The conference participants familiarized themselves with the experience accumulated in ideological work by a number of Lvov Oblast gorkoms, raykoms, and basic party organizations, and visited labor collectives at enterprises and farms.

CSO: 1811/67

## NATIONAL

### 'LITERATOR' URGES MORE JOURNALISTIC WRITING ON RURAL TOPICS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by 'Literator': "The Word on Land and Bread"]

[Text] "As we know, our party regards concern for the development of agriculture not only as an economic but also a paramount social-political task.

"We start with the fact that a highly developed, effectively functioning agro-industrial complex is a necessary condition for a further increase in the material prosperity of the people and improvement of the efficiency of the national economy."

These words of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, K.U. Chernenko, which sounded from the platform of the All-Union Economic Conference on Problems of the Agro-Industrial Complex, indicate the paramount governmental importance of problems related to successful implementation of the USSR Food Program and call on all Soviet citizens to participate effectively in this great public business. And it is completely natural that today the party expects a lot from the multinational Soviet literature and all periodical publications--both in the work on the education of Communist consciousness and a caring attitude toward the land and natural resources and in the study of the social-moral and psychological aspects of the life of contemporary rural workers and in the consistent tireless struggle with any obstacles on our path to the future.

How, then, does our literature cope with this "social task" of publishing with strategic significance, since its contribution to the deep, concerned and open discussion of problems stirring every Soviet citizen now is vital?

By posing these questions in conformity with the first three issues and in particular the March numbers of the central literary artistic monthlies, you see both undoubted achievements, the search for new promising solutions, and also the difficulties of growth and the unjustified long "swings"--in a word, collisions which call for a serious attempt at understanding by criticism and by all literary public opinion.

However, we shall first discuss successes and trends deserving support. And we have to begin here with journalists, with that "business prose,"

which according to tradition most effectively responds to the needs of the time and concentrates their attention, as a rule, on the latest events and processes and strives to reveal and to generalize the experience accumulated in advanced agro-industrial complexes of the country. In this series, if you recall, the January and February magazine publications are markedly distinguished by sketches and articles by such notable journalists as I. Vasil'yev ("Nash sovremennik"), L. Ivanov ("Oktyabr") and V. Pal'man ("Moskva"), and also the speeches of the leading economists, executives and advanced workers of agricultural production on the pages of many literary publications.

What distinguishes them? First of all, the competence of the authors, their exact, extensive knowledge of the subject under discussion, their talent and ability to consider even the most solitary and seemingly random facts in the context of the whole social-economic situation of the country.

Competence, as we know, is the main pillar of any journalistic speech and printed work. We see it as the necessary condition under which the author-journalist can show both his depth of thought about the material and a civil temperament, and the principle in defending one's own point of view. An essayist, if he has decided to tell a million people about some important understanding or some burning problem, must investigate a topic at least as well as his hero, and the sensation of authenticity appearing in our best journalistic works, a high level of mentality, genuine concern for all the events in society with certitude is passed to the reader, excite in him confidence in the author and inspire him to independent work of the soul, mind and heart.

You also think about all this when in the third issue of the "Moskva" magazine you become acquainted with a new publication from the editors' selected series, "Dialogue on Life, Profession and Art."

There is no need to present or introduce the participants in the meeting. The name of the honored academician of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, the glorious Russian agriculturalist, Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev, is surely known to every literate person in the country. The name of a member of the CPSU Central Committee, the first secretary of the Poltava Regional Committee of the Communist Party, a writer, author of a number of journalistic books, Fedor Trofimovich Morgun, enjoys deserved fame.

Their conversation, as would be expected, was devoted primarily to the problems of the village of today, the principles of the most effective use of land-tenure and problems mentioned in the USSR Food Program. But such was the level of the thinking of both participants, such was their competence and the scope of their view of reality that, having begun with consideration of very special problems such as agro-technology, their discussion overall encompassed an enormous range of problems related to the CPSU Central Committee project on the redesign of the system of school education and the forms of the most effective propaganda on the values of the Soviet way of life, the advanced production-economic experiment, and work on the development of healthy esthetic tastes and the spiritual requirements of rural young

people. And it appeared that all this has a most direct relationship to the main problem: how most effectively, in the shortest period of time and at the least costs, can the resolutions of the 26th Congress of the party, of the USSR Central Committee Plenums be fulfilled by the development of agricultural production in this country?

The Food Program, as was repeatedly stressed in the speech by K. U. Chernenko, is perceived by the party as a broad, balanced set of measures literally touching on all spheres of life of the Soviet people, and it is natural that the attention of journalists, who comprehend the needs and concerns of the contemporary agro-industrial complex, must not neglect either the general trends or the small essential details and particulars. It is important only that the discussion about the strategic tasks of the economy not be diverted from practice, facts and vital specifics and that authors, in studying particular aspects, not in turn overlook the overall purpose and the overall panorama of creative work of our contemporaries.

It is characteristic that the journalistic sections of the central monthlies provide the same amount of coverage to both possible methods of coping with the current range of social-economic problems. And if, for example, the March issues of the magazines "Nash Sovremennik" and "Novyy Mir" are extremely local in their content, the essay work by Evgeniy Budinas, "Journey with an Opponent," which has been published since the beginning of the year in the magazine "Druzhba narodov," can be considered successful in a great attempt to tie up neatly the whole range of problems related to the achievements of the present rayon agro-industrial associations.

In terms of both the scope and the breadth of grasp of vital material, and in terms of the type of narrative we have a unique "essay-novel" which present the place and the numerical frameworks, as well as digressions into the background of Soviet rural life and expressively outlined models of party, Soviet and economic managers, along with broad generalizations and bold economic prognoses. Traveling in search of advanced experience with his imaginary Opponent from Estonia to Georgia, passing along the way through the farms of Belorussia and the Russian Federation which elicit his own Latvian and Ukrainian impressions, the author shows both the community of tasks which today face the agriculture of the state, and the national specificity of particular forms in which the agrarian politics of the party are vested at the present time. Discussion about important economic experiments and initiatives thus also becomes the basis of considerations about the international nature of Soviet society and about the qualities and features which distinguish our people as a new historical community.

We discussed above how the reader noted several magazines which showed an enviable strategy and continuity in response to vitally important problems of the day and in discussion of pressing social-psychological problems of the development of our agriculture. And how, then, do other literary publications measure up in this regard?

The experience of the magazine "Oktyabr" over a period of a number of years in developing the more and more industrious activity of their literary post

established in the Russian Nechernozem certainly deserves support. In the framework of this flexible magazine form, there have been, as already noted in our reviews, many interesting, significant items which are extremely differently planned both in theme and character of exposition. The attention of the reader is drawn, of course, to the sketch by Ivan Filonenko, "To Oneself and Descendants" and also the letters to the editor published under this heading in the March issue of the monthly.

And as for several other magazines, it is necessary to state regretfully that clear, measured journalistic articles on the course of the implementation of the Food Program have not yet appeared this year. With interest and heartfelt emotion, we read in "Molodaya gvardiya" and "Yunost" the essays by I. Shvets and the untimely deceased writer, E. Shatko on the 30th anniversary of the start of the development of the virgin soils and meadows; you understand that these important publications would have sounded more sensible if they had been supported in the magazine by new work by journalists and essayists on today's realities of the agro-industrial complex concerning those measures which regularly continue and develop the subsequent economic course of the party and the Soviet government.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, we shall specify that this by no means implies weakening of the total activity of the essayist-journalists of the departments of the magazines mentioned above. The readers are easily reminded how much experience has been accumulated by "Molodaya gvardiya," "Zvezda," "Yunost'," "Znamen" and other publications in the disclosing of counterpropaganda publications, in discussing the concerns for industrial production and the illumination of a broad range of social and moral-psychological problems of the life of our society. All this actually is so, and we do not mean to understate the obvious achievements of the editorial and authors' collectives of these monthlies. The issue in this case exclusively relates to the principles of magazine planning, and thorough consideration of the full range of problems related to the Food Program and requires steady, constant attention to this problem of primary importance. The forms and means of magazine work, naturally, can differ, but in them a system and a well-thought-out and sound position of the editors and authors must be expected.

Attention must obviously be paid to the fact that, speaking of the contribution of the literary publication to the public discussion of the problems of the development of agricultural industry and of all aspects of the life and way of life of rural workers, we also concentrated exclusively on essay and journalistic articles, setting aside artistic genres per se. The reason here is very simple: no issues of the magazines being reviewed, and this is not paradoxical, have a single observable artistic work revealing the spiritual world and the moral face of the current agriculturalists and investigating the process of the rapid renewal of all rural life, of which we are contemporaries.

We would like to think that such weighty novels, tales, stories and poems which are up to date in purpose and persuasive in artistic resolution are already found in the editorial portfolios and will soon become the property of the mass reading public. But still...

And just the same, if we again consider the discussion of magazine planning, it will not be superfluous certainly to remember that workers in magazine prose and poetry departments are obligated to show more initiative than before in attracting to this national activity the broadest circle of talented and promising authors. We cannot help regretting that artistic and artistic-journalistic articles on rural life today which belong on a par with our leading writers, including those whose creativity is related to the "rural prose" deservedly recognized in this country, still appear so rarely in print. Greater use could be made of different forms of missions, the tried-and-true practice of "social order," etc., etc. Large reserves also exist in work with young, very-promising authors, who are sometimes too timid in their first works to consider the problems of great social significance, who also need creative assistance and who are in constant creative contact with employees of the magazine editorial offices and publishers.

In a word, as it is said in such cases, the work of all of us is virgin territory, and (we shall cite, as an application to our literary and magazine problems, the words of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko) "the time for such work is very short. And it is important in pressured days persistently and consistently to solve the problems arising in the development of the agro-industrial complex. This is exactly what the people expect from us."

The people expect and should expect from the words of artists, literary workers and party journalists new, socially significant and highly-artistic works about contemporary times and about how, with the harmonious strengths of all the Soviet people, party decisions and tasks formulated in the USSR Food Program are implemented.

12410

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## NATIONAL

### ACADEMICIAN SETS FORTH QUALITIES OF NEW ECONOMIC MANAGERS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 84 p 3

[Article: "What Kind of Director Should One Be?"]

[Text] Today, in a period of arranging the operational mechanism with the aim of shifting the whole economy onto the path of intensive development, one of the most important questions relates to the qualities of the modern manager. Our correspondent, R. Lykev, discussed this topic with the rector of the Academy of National Economy at the USSR Council of Ministers, Academician Ye. M. Sergeev.

- Evgeniy Mikhailovich, in your opinion, what kind of operational manager should one be today?

- The situation that has arisen today with regard to operational management personnel is, in a way, a paradoxical one. The majority of these people, of course, are engineers by education, while in connection with economy, management, organization and production, they are practical workers. Because they do not have sufficient education and a firm theoretical grounding in this area, this lack affects their thinking, their approach and the quality of the decisions they make. When he makes a decision, a manager must see not only its operational consequences, but also its social and political ones. Education must be extended and special emphasis placed on the study of socialist political economy. And I must say here that the just criticism expressed by the Central Committee of the party, addressed to the Institute of Economy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, regarding inadequate development of questions of socialist political economy, apply fully to us as well.

Further. In our time, when scientific and technical progress has acquired the character of a revolution, a manager must be well aware of his conformance to regulations--in general and with respect to his own field. I will give you an example from a subject with which I am well acquainted--geology. Today, 8 percent of the dry land of our planet is taken up by engineering structures. Specialists calculate that by the year 2000 this area will double and will occupy a sixth of the dry land. That is, we have arrived at that stage of influence over nature where, as V.I. Lenin wrote in his "Philosophical Notebooks," a natural and social interpenetration is beginning.

In connection with scientific and technical progress, there is also much talk about electronic computers and mathematical methods of economic management. Of course, without a technology which is able to output necessary information in seconds, management today is simply impossible. The manager must know both the technology and the methods of its use. It must not be forgotten that the important thing is what is put into the machine, what basic data. The quality of the decision is based on this.

- That is, is the decision a correct one? Who made it? How much was it evaluated? As they say, it doesn't matter to the machine. But we, who carry it out, are not indifferent to it, just as we are not indifferent to the personal qualities of the manager and his style.

- The well-known requirements for an operational manager's personality did not take shape today, but were formulated even by V.I. Lenin. Aside from his ideological position, his professional knowledge, his organizational abilities and his skills, a continually greater significance is given today to the manager's high moral authority, based on his ability to convince people of the correctness of the line chosen and his display of persistence and exacting requirements. In addition, his authority is inconceivable without tactfulness, his skill in human relations, hearing people out, understanding them and finding support in them.

- In recent party documents, one finds instructions on the inadvisability of excessive surveillance by operational managers and sometimes on their replacement, which, of course, restrains their initiative and independence. How is it possible to help a manager acquire the necessary traits of character?

- How does one proceed with self-instruction? Intensively. On the most up to date level. Twenty percent of one's time is devoted to the study of theory. Half as much time is devoted to technical questions. Active, problematical study plays a large role. In the course of role-playing, the students place themselves in different situations where they have to make decisions on a large number of different complex questions, coordinating them with Gosplan USSR, its ministries and departments. In these games, a number of qualities essential for a manager are tested and sharpened, among which are independence, initiative and the ability to take a risk. Of great benefit to the students too are monthly work periods in Gosplan, in the ministries, in enterprises, as well as abroad, in CMEA countries.

In connection with the requirements of the times, we intend to increase the range of disciplines taught, introducing, for example, a course in economic psychology. We want there to be established in the academy, probably for the first time in the country, a department of political-economic socialism.

Aside from all this, a modern manager must be a highly cultivated person. In this connection, the university of culture works actively among us.

In a word--and this is unanimously admitted by our guests from Western countries--nowhere in the world, in no so-called business schools, has the education of managers reached such a high level.

## NATIONAL

### EXCESSIVE PAPERWORK HAMPERS ENTERPRISE, INSTITUTE MANAGEMENT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by A. Yermolenko: "Paper Shuffling. What Prevents Specialists from Saving Time"]

[Text] I cannot remain indifferent when I enter an economic department or an accounting enterprise. There is so much of every possible kind of paper there is here! The desks are piled high, as a rule, with huge "sheets" filled up with numbers. Fat folders are on the shelves and in the cupboards. And the specialists continue recording, filling out, entering, addressing...

Papers, folders of papers, mountains of papers...Is it inconceivable to have a register of accounting and economic work without this? It would seem so. We have become so used to this state of affairs that we sometimes forget to view it objectively, to evaluate it, to reflect on it a bit, and it might not be a bad idea also to calculate whether everything is really precise and economical in this business.

Let us begin at the simplest level--paper expenditures. In the "average" enterprise the accounting registration documents alone, if they are drawn up and processed mechanically, run to 50 to 60 volumes a month. Put these folders on a scale and the indicator will read tens of kilograms. Now let us extrapolate all this to the scale of the whole country--the result will be hundreds of thousands of tons of paper. And it is not that simple. All accounting forms are pre-printed on standard sheets. These blanks are used up regardless of whether many entries must be made or whether only a few lines have to be filled in. Most often, only one line is used. Can this attitude be called careful and diligent? If small-format blanks were used and both sides were filled out, it would be possible to cut the amount of paper needed for accounts approximately in half.

This is only one side of the coin, however. There is also another one. It involves the fact that a few document forms are oversaturated with requisitions. Let us take, for example, standard form No 1, "Commodity Transport Bill of Lading." There are 1,897 different indices on it. As a rule, however, not more than ten percent of the columns are filled out. Why have the rest? Such "universality" surely exceeds all rational boundaries. Much more time is often spent on registering the bill of lading in quintuplicate with the

signatures on four executives than on issuing and shipping the documented goods themselves. Translated into economic terms, this means additional forced idleness of vehicles, vans and freight loaders, as well as additional labor expenditures.

It is worth mentioning that form No. 1-t, the one under discussion, is written out in quintuplicate. That means that it is studied, registered and processed in four more places, while the 1,897 "boxes," whether or not they are filled out, pass repeatedly through the whole accounting system.

One might think that this document is in the category of a bureaucratic antiquity. No, it was developed less than five years ago. There are many similar documents in accounting offices.

Accounting documents very often engender excessive time expenditures. Judge for yourself. On several standard accounting forms, three to six signatures are required. Trivial papers sometimes wander from one manager's office to another, over-filling already stuffed folders stamped "For signature." This flood is so tremendous that at times executives cannot familiarize themselves deeply and thoroughly with the documents. If a manager has to sign his name dozens, hundreds of times a day, when does he have time for administration?

I once happened to be present when documents were being registered for the shipping of freight from an enterprise. The value of this freight was extremely small. But operating strictly according to the existing accounting system, several blanks had to be filled out and dozens of signatures collected. An immense amount of time was spent on this by many people.

There is a great deal of talk now about reducing administrative staff. There are some positive aspects in this. But the offices of some enterprises and institutions are fairly overcrowded with bookkeepers. All this means that the perfecting of a staff list is weakly supported by a simplification of the form of accounting. On the contrary, this system becomes more complicated from year to year.

A distinctly catalytic role is played here by the disproportion which has arisen between a reduction of the administrative personnel of lower organizations and a noticeable increase in the staff of higher ones. This results in a paradox. A plant, let us say, transfers into its budget the amount of savings from a reduction in administrative expenditures; at the same time, these assets are often spent on salaries for newly confirmed staff in higher positions. There is a reduction once a year in the plant of the number of those who process the "wave" of paper, while there is an increase in the higher organization...

Managers are faced with a difficult question: where can additional people be found? And they resort to stratagems. Sometimes they "mask" the accountants with other accounting posts or duties and the compilation of numerous reports is entrusted to engineers, foremen and other specialists. As a result, not only is paper expended, but there is also irrational use made of specialist labor. It is completely impossible to consider this a normal situation.

Accounting management in our country, as is known, is accomplished by a single center. But in addition, every enterprise, organization and institution receives a multitude of papers requiring that information be given on one question or another. It is essential to stop this local process of paper creation and to increase the responsibility of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR for the organizational work of its subdivisions. The accounting system must be as simple as possible.

In many cases, there has now been a shift from abaci and calculators to electronic computer technology. This has made people's work easier and increased productivity. A significant part of the data is being processed at machine calculating stations. But the system of mechanized processing of information, of course, requires encoding and duplication of a huge mass of initial accounting documents. These operations are still labor-intensive. Moreover, bookkeepers are involved in coding and station operators in duplication. This division of labor increases costs and the probability of errors. The processing of materials by modern electronic computers requires preliminary processing of the material by hand or by simple machine. In a word, the latest technology and methods are joined to "old-fashioned" devices. And this totally negates the effect of technological application. The example of the Krasnodar Mirror and Accessories Combine is instructive in this respect. Here, as a result of the mechanization of accounting, the bookkeeping staff has remained at an invariable number. This should be cause for rejoicing. But on the other hand, the enterprise pays out more than 60,000 rubles a year for the services of a machine calculating station. For this money it would be possible to retain about another forty people, two and a half times as many as the whole current bookkeeping staff of the combine.

All these facts speak for one thing: it is essential to approach the question of establishing order in an important area of government activity such as statistics and accounting in a scientific and sober manner. Otherwise, the paper "wave," or rather snowball, will turn into an avalanche with which it will not be easy to cope. It seems to me that in the solution to this problem, the last word does not belong to the Central Statistical Board of the USSR, its ministries and departments.

12249

CSO: 1800/355

## NATIONAL

### CONTEMPORARY ANTI-ALCOHOL PROPAGANDA CONDEMNED

Moscow LITERNATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 12, 21 Mar 84 p 13

[Article by Zoriy Balayan, Yerevan: "Notes of a Writer; Getting Drunk on Words."]

[Text] You surely have encountered this: authors of anti-alcohol brochures cite true figures, make correct comparisons and use proverbs and sayings, but it is as if all of it doesn't touch us and slips on past. Many scientists even believe that incompetent anti-alcohol propaganda not only does not "work" but has the opposite effect.

Page 23 of the brochure "Drunkenness--The Enemy of Health and Longevity" depicts three livers: Normal, enlarged and shriveled. And the text: according to scientific data, among those suffering from cirrosis of the liver, 50 percent are chronic alcoholics. In all honesty, such information soothes more than it alerts. Nevertheless, the result is that the other 50 percent are not chronic alcoholics, that is, whether you drink or don't drink, it doesn't matter, you may become ill and get that shriveled liver. Or an "ox heart." And that is why such pictures demonstrating the difference between the heart, livers and kidneys of a healthy person and one suffering from alcoholism appear to have no effect on the reader.

My friend, Boris Shchukin, a Moscow psychiatrist and candidate in medical sciences, sent me the brochure a long time ago. In it he underlined not only page 23 but also whole paragraphs on many others, in which words and illustrations on the subject of anti-alcoholism "do not work." Judge for yourself.

"...there are still people who have not been able to separate themselves from obsolete opinions and behavior; from petty owners' aspirations and narrow egotism, from nationalistic and religious prejudices, from a propensity to alcohol abuse, etc."

This is a string of correct words...But the effect that they have is the opposite. And already you have ceased to believe the author when he turns to a special subject. Already the following illustration also appears clearly doubtful: "On the left, the surface of the brain of a healthy

person; and on the right, the turbid surface of the brain of an alcoholic." But you do not believe because, in the matter of propaganda, banality and primitivism only alienate.

From the time that I began to excerpt from the extensive anti-alcohol literature published in our country, I have found banalities, to say the least. Almost all authors, for example, consider it their duty to bring in an abundance of any kind of "anti-alcohol" proverbs and sayings. Already they have bored us with: "To the drunk the sea is up to one's knee, and the puddle up to one's ear," "If you drink a lot of wine, in misery you will be," "What the sober man retaineth, the drunkard revealeth." Obvious nonsense is also encountered, for some reason or other, which is published: "He who drinks a lot of wine will soon go out of his mind."

Many authors, as though in agreement, present the same graphic material by way of illustration. Usually this is a "serpent" winding around the leg of a chair or a gigantic spider crawling along a table on which stand a bottle and a glass. Well, now, naturally, there is a sympathetic mark on the neck of the bottle. Apparently, all this is necessary in order to frighten. To intimidate. A mole, you see, which waits for you if unaware you get drunk to delirium tremens, that is, up to the mark.

History shows that fear is a poor assistant in anti-alcohol propaganda. In scientific work one can read that in China drunkenness was most common in the times of those emperors who executed alcoholics. In India servants of a cult (Brahmins) drank the most when they passed a law according to which they poured boiling wine down the throat of those who were convicted and they burned the image of a bottle on the forehead of their wives. In one place, they cut off the ears of people; in another, the nose; and in a third, the hands. In a fourth, they resorted to the "services" of a guillotine. And people drank just the same. They drank without ears, without a nose and without hands. Legends tell of those who drank even as their heads fell from their shoulders. Thus, to frighten with spiders and marks is at least naive. Fear and interdiction are not appropriate in the struggle against alcoholism as a phenomenon or an illness. It has become trivial to refer to the regrettably well-known "Prohibition" in America. However, we should indeed also not forget the experiment, especially as it gave interesting indications which themselves say a lot. For example, there are data which show that mortality during the time of Prohibition, which lasted for 12 years in the United States, increased by a factor of 7 in New York (!---for example).

Therefore, fear is not appropriate. What then is appropriate for anti-alcohol propaganda? I posed this problem to B. Shchukin during a meeting which took place in the editorial office of "Literaturnaya Gazeta."

"A philosophical approach, I think, is needed for anti-alcohol propaganda," Shchukin said. "Indeed, the word 'propaganda' is derived from the [Latin] word 'to disseminate.' The question is the dissemination of ideas, studies, opinions and theories. You will agree that it is possible and necessary to disseminate only the positive. It is simply inhumane if not illegal to disseminate the negative. Defaming wine is superfluous in terms of health

and logic if it is known that the government produces it and that people keep a tradition of weddings, remembrances, holidays and banquets on an official level. What should and must be said? First, the 100 percent exclusion of spirit beverages from use in childhood years and secondly, complete abstention from alcohol at the time when parents intend to conceive children. The solution to these two problems ultimately has a larger goal: the prevention of chronic alcoholism in the future."

Boris Shchukin brought to the editorial office a pile of brochures and papers in which there is no "good propaganda." There are many stories about how a man in the drunken stupor fell face down into the fire and received burns, fell into the river or became lost in the forest. About how the chronic alcoholic has a faster pulse and what high blood pressure he has. In other special publications not a word is found on the problem of childhood alcoholism, as if chronic alcoholics fall to earth from the moon. You do not read a word about the problem of "alcoholism and progeny." On the other hand, they are full of the same formulas ("Remember, wine is your enemy") and strange calculations ("Altogether 20 grams of vodka reduce muscular strength by 10 percent"). You begin to calculate and obtain: 200 grams of vodka is enough to paralyze entirely. And already you do not believe the primary information. From one brochure I learn that the term "white fever" comes from the color of vodka. From another, I learn it comes from the white color of the face of a hallucinating alcoholic. "According to world statistical data," sometimes I read that drinkers live 7 years less than nondrinkers, and sometimes 20. Such "trivia" hurt the credibility of anti-alcohol propaganda and the printed and spoken word.

I understand that any propaganda is also an art. And therefore, naturally, elements of dramatization are justified here. But the price of such an art is that no one believes it. Indeed, who believes the peremptory assertion, "Even a single dose of alcohol can produce irreversible changes in the brain."? This means that a single dose of vodka can be dangerous. But for whom? For the growing organism which is not getting stronger. It is actually dangerous during conception because, as studies have shown, alcohol deforms the sex cell, which carries pathological information to the future fetus.

To explain, to analyze, to be limitedly specific about what you are writing are necessary components of intelligent propaganda, including anti-alcohol. In this case one should not go beyond that.

Gerontologists believe that longevity is a criterion of health. I know that in our country centenarians are having breakfast. From childhood I remember how grandmother did not spoil grandad a bit with a different menu for breakfast. A slice of warm bread, on which a tiny pat of butter melted and slid. Sheep's milk cheese eaten with the fingers. A small soft-boiled egg. A small green onion with a white round head. A glass of strong hot tea with sugar held between her teeth. Grandfather unfailingly preceded his traditional meal for the morning sunrise with a traditional wine-glass of mulberry vodka. And this was the way it was always. Every day. And no irreversible processes for you. Intelligent, prudent, bright people whom,

naturally, no one saw drunk. But to say to any of them that an unshaven youth should take a sip of wine, they wouldn't believe it. It is simply intolerable!

We had a long talk with the chief director of the USSR Ministry of Health, E. A. Babayan about anti-alcohol propaganda or, more accurately, how it should not be done. I asked Eduard Armenakovich:

"Don't you think that the peremptoriness of some lecturers and authors of brochures irritates many people? They argue at length and without proof, sometimes neglecting the customs and habits of people."

"As for the defects in anti-alcohol propaganda, I will say this: in recent scientific literature a so-called cognitive dissonance phenomenon has already been described. For example, a drunkard, not wishing to give up alcohol, stubbornly focuses on the results of scientific studies which show a connection between alcohol abuse and a health disorder encountered in people who do not drink. To him there may appear to be a negative, sceptical attitude toward the achievements of science. Therefore, the peremptoriness of which you speak, the oversaturation with numerical data, frequently produces a reaction in people which is the opposite of what the author expected.

"What, then, should be the principle of conducting preventive anti-alcohol propaganda?"

"The first condition for correct anti-alcohol propaganda is the differentiation of approach, and the second is clearness of direction, complexity and agreement of all recommendations. Both principles must be observed especially in the struggle against childhood drunkenness."

No matter whom we spoke with, every specialist without fail stressed concern about the serious results of childhood alcoholism. It is naive to use the "ox heart" or cirrosis of the liver to frighten anyone whose whole organism has broken down. The fight for children's lives must be programmed and strategic. We, however, frequently reduce the tactics and strategy of the struggle to an absurd poster on which depicts a bottle with x's, the unshaven, excuse me, ugly mug of an alcoholic and a couplet of doubtful literacy.

I examined some material from the World Health Organization devoted to the problem of alcoholism and, in particular, the use of alcoholic beverages by children and teen-agers. They recommend engaging in a dialog but not frightening them and not laying various prohibitions on them.

It is explained that nonprofessional presentation of material and the so-called "shock" tactics are harmful. The desire to try the "forbidden fruit" is acute. Such a desire is also fed by the natural inclination of teen-agers to act older and acquire, so to speak, "a citizen's right" among adults.

Any teacher, any thinking parent knows that little children do not tolerate falsehoods. Children easily spot inconsistencies and contradictions between

what is taught them and what adults both think and do. And having perceived a lie, they never again believe in the truthfulness of an adult. Specialists think that it is better not to conduct anti-alcohol propaganda in general than to do it incompetently.

Unfortunately, we have this serious matter of great national importance farmed out to people who frequently are incompetent.

At the same time everybody can imagine himself skillful in the fight for sobriety. And this is not surprising: instructional services such as "Anti-alcohol propaganda is the duty and service obligation of all medical workers, regardless of their specialty and professional duties" are almost decreed. This is reminiscent of Karel Chapek, "Imagine how quiet it would be if people only said what they knew." And in order to know, it is necessary "for all medical workers" to have professional training on a base which is developed in many directions and is multidisciplinary for the alcohol programs.

I do not dispute that medical workers, "regardless of their specialty and professional duty" in problems of alcoholism are more informed than simple mortals. But there is little of this. In WHO materials it is stressed that "the basis of a method for solving the problem must be a positive understanding of the "all-knowing expert" speaking to the "ignorant mass" and all other forms of a patronizing manner of delivering information has long ago outlived his times.

Everyone knows that the health agencies must be engaged in anti-alcohol work. And in practice the result is that physicians with the lion's share of strengths and resources are forced to direct the healing of a "ready-made" illness: chronic alcoholism. They may contradict me: but health education? And lectures? Yes, health education is being done. But how? A lecture is read. But who listens to it? In one document I read that "those who attend lectures are basically people who do not drink or drink very little, while it seems to be extremely complicated to attract a drunkard to such a lecture room."

Everyone knows, but everyone continues to behave like an ignoramus. And it turns out that the most successful struggle against drunkenness was in ancient times.

Even when philosophers understood that defamation of wine alone not only is of no benefit but even leads to a negative result. The legendary Spartan legislator Lycurgus was also convinced that drunkards did not become fewer when all the vineyards of the country were destroyed. Public criers walked around the land and loudly preached a text about the harm of drunkenness. People did not believe the words. People in general believe not words but wisdom. And they believed the philosophers who, by not defaming wine and even praising it, forewarned not of danger in general but of specific danger. Hippocrates authored the rule, "Drunkenness is the reason for debility and sickness of children." Aristotle clarified it to a high degree, "Women addicted to drunkenness give birth to children resembling their mothers in this respect."

Not once has the opinion of scientist-specialists been communicated in the press, including "Literaturnaya Gazeta": if a person does not drink before he has finished growing, he will not then pick up the habit and a sickly predilection to wine. This is a matter, of course, of the rule and not the exception. Fortunately, if the organism is not debilitated by alcohol from the time of childhood, his healthy protective reactions are retained throughout life. They already resist the development of illness of the kind which appears in the chronic alcoholic. And our whole anti-alcohol program must be based on this scientific principle: to do everything to exclude the use of alcoholic beverages among children and teen-agers.

Anti-alcohol propaganda includes not only the dissemination of positive ideas but also the implementation of them. At one time, scientists announced a campaign against one of the most severe epidemic illnesses--malaria. Knowing that the mosquito was the carrier of the disease, some scientists decided to eliminate mosquitoes entirely. The guilt of the poor insects consisted of the fact that they bit people who had malaria and transmitted the infection to a healthy person. Prudent people, indeed, have been found who have come forward for the protection of mosquitoes. Even people who were very ill with malaria have been cured. And success has been achieved. Mosquitoes live in the modern world, and there is no malaria.

It is absurd to compare such a generally harmful alcoholic beverage as wine, on the whole, with such a useful creature as the mosquito. But I wanted to mention a prudent method of fighting evil. The fact that it is necessary to conduct anti-alcohol propaganda prudently. Because, as was noted long ago, prudence does not mean going against nature.

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## NATIONAL

### NEW SOVIET COMPENDIUM OUTLINES PROGRESS OF YIDDISH LANGUAGE

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Apr 84 p 4

[Review by U. Guralnik, doctor of philological sciences, of book "V nashi dni" [In Our Days; Sketches of Jewish Writers] compiled by I. Shuster, Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskiy pisatel'", Moscow, 1983]

[Text] No doubt this book, published in Moscow on the Yiddish language, will rouse lively interest in many countries of the world. But so much virulence has contaminated the subject, especially overseas, in order to influence the gullible, as if there were no Jewish literature in the USSR. As for "Sovetish Geymland" ("Soviet Homeland"), which has regularly been published for more than twenty years, just as a library of new novels and tales, books of original poems, historical-literary and literary-critical research have been published steadily from year to year, they say it is the usual Communist propaganda and take exception...

It would be hypocritical to deny specific difficulties which literature in Yiddish experiences today. Millions of its potential readers were annihilated in the years of Hitler occupation, and at that time its traditional cultural centers in the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic and Moldavia were entirely destroyed. Nevertheless, in our country it has been restored to new life, is successfully developing in the brotherly multinational family of Soviet literatures, has cultivated its own true reader, and in translations into Russian and other languages is becoming a contribution for incalculable audiences.

The creative possibilities of contemporary Jewish literature, to judge by the unique Soviet experience, are inexhaustible, but abroad, as a matter of fact, it long ago reached its peak.

Bourgeois nationalists, the "elite," egghead intellectuals, have published presumptuously and regard disdainfully the language of the masses and the creation of literary classics in Yiddish, including such world-class artists as Mendel', Sholom-Aleikhem and Perets. In Israel "jargon," as it is well-known, is demonstratively ignored, and in the United States and other western countries publication in this language is becoming a rarity.

In the Soviet Union old recognized masters of the "art of painting with words," such as Note Aur'ye of Odessa, Grigoriy Polyanker of Kiev,

Ikhil' Shaybman of Kishin and Iosif Rabin of Moscow, continue their present-day creative activity; Khaim Melamud works productively in Chernovtsy and Ber Gal'pern, in Vilnius...It has grown in the postwar decades, and the middle generation of writers has received serious attention. The appearance of a young generation of talented writers brings delight. The intensity of the search of, in particular, recent graduates of the Jewish group of the higher literary courses at the Literary Institute imeni Gorkiy, elicits optimistic harmony. To ascertain this, it is sufficient to cite the innovative, lyrical-philosophical tale of Boris Sandler, "Stupeni k chudu" [Steps to a Miracle] published only in the October, 1983 issue of "Sovetish Geymland." In poetry, the voices of L'yev Berlin and Vladimir Chernin are heard.

Speaking of Yiddish literature today, we would render honors to artistic journalism, the political novel (such, undoubtedly, is "Vremya" [Time] by Aron Vergelis) and the documentary essay--an effective and multifaced, capacious and socially sharp genre. It is not necessary to mention the significance of this phenomenon--it is obvious.

A newspaper column does not permit a detailed discussion of explication of poetics, the artistic merits of even the best and the most renowned essays and sketches, thematically collected by the compiler of the book, I. Shuster, in five sections: "Problems of the Times," "Attachment to the Soil," "Wide Spaces," "Cities and Small Towns" and "Contemporaries." I would only like to note the richness of the individual styles, writings and receptions and the freshness of world views. As the result, a voluminous and multi-colored panorama of dynamic contemporary life is assembled. Sincerity is won in the travelling pictures of the very experienced Samuil Gordon. His pensive-elegaic "Zhil-byt kogda-tu pastushak" [Once Upon a Time There Lived a Shepherd] on the present-day village is next to the essay saturated with information by Aleksandr Lizen of the affairs and people of Elektron in L'vov. The reporting from a Novosibirsk small town by Tev'ye Gen is placed beside the poetic "Sredneaziatskiy bloknot" [Central Asian Tablet] by Khaim Beyder; a shrewd observer is Shiry Gorshman, who is inclined toward generalizations slightly colored by irony and goes well with the skilled prose of B. and A. Burshteyn, "Permskiye sotsiologi" [Perm Sociology].

Unusually broad, I would say, is the abundant "geography" of the documental descriptions included in the collection. Naturally, on the eve of the 50-year jubilee of the Jewish autonomous Oblast', the authors of the book tell much with enthusiasm about Birohidzhan.

"V nashi dni" is a book which is distinguished by a social-political acrimony in posing important and complex problems of the age, and by clear direction. I believe that the collection contains the trials of our times.

The book was obtained in the right way by struggle, although, it would seem, not a single author really quarreled with possible foreign opponents from a number of so-called "protectors of Soviet Jews." And this is the perceived position: the authors believe in the victorious force of truth avowed by them. By defending our ideals, the writers are relying on real values.

The collection on the whole recreates a form of the hero of our times. A sanguine collective portrait of the working people is sketched, and basic features of the Soviet Jew are exposed, whether he is a builder at a Chelyabinsk tractor factory or a veteran hunting guide, shipbuilder or vine-dresser.

In this sense the story of one Birohidzhan family acquires the character of a really artistic generalization, masterfully told by Buzi Miller. Let us see what kind of a family this is: they are gathered at the holiday table in the home of Aleksandr Borisovich Vileskiy celebrating his seventieth birthday; as rightly said in the preface in the book being reviewed, it is "all Soviet Jews in miniature." The celebrant himself has been a member of the Communist party for 35 years, and on Victory Day on May 9, 1945 he was in Berlin. Among the people nearest him are a surgeon, an engineer, a teacher, a cabinet maker, a therapist, a builder, a cutter in a tailor shop, a nurse, a school inspector, a graduate of theater arts, a geology student...

For Soviet Jews, and this once again confirms the analysis of the authenticity of the book "V nashi dni" selected by the authors; it is characterized by confidence in the future, socialist world view and patriotic pride in their own great Native Land. The feeling of indissolubility of service of the people with the service of the socialist Fatherland is inherent in Jews living side-by-side and working hand-in-hand with representatives of other nations and nationalities.

The book "V nashi dni" [In Our Days] is honest and excited about this. It appears to be timely and also important. The collection deserves to be translated into other languages; it is expedient: such a publication produces a wide public echo.

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CSO: 1800/369

## REGIONAL

### ESTONIAN SUPREME SOVIET MEETS

#### 8 June Information Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Jun 84 p 1

[ETA [Estonian News Agency] item: "Information Report"]

[Text] On 8 June the 9th Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, 10th Convocation, was held at Toompea in Tallinn.

. . . 1000 hours. The places in the boxes are occupied by Comrades K. Vayno, N. Ganyushov, A. Kudryavtsev, V. Kyao, L. Lentsman, O. Merimaa, A. Ryuytel', B. Saul, A.-B. Upsi, N. Yuganson, D. Visnapuu, M. Pedak, I. Toome, and L. Shishov; Chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet M. Vannas; 1st Deputy Chairman of ESSR Council of Ministers and chairman of ESSR Agroprom, A. Trebugov; G. Tynspoyeg; Secretary of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, V. Vakht; and members of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and ESSR Council of Ministers.

The session was opened by Chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy M. Pedak.

In response to a report by the chairman of the Credentials Commission, Deputy A. Meri, the session adopted the Decree Governing the Confirmation of the Powers for Newly Elected Deputies.

The following agenda was approved:

1. Tasks in improving the activity of the ESSR Soviets of People's Deputies, which tasks evolve from the decisions of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and the principles and conclusions expounded in the statements of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko.
2. The implementation of the Basic Directions in the Reform of the General-Educational and Vocational School System in Estonian SSR.
3. The activity of the ESSR agencies of people's control in reinforcing planning and state discipline and in increasing the effectiveness of social production.

#### 4. The approval of the Ukases of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

As a result of the appointment of Deputy I. Toome as deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, the session released him from his duties as chairman of the Commission on Public Education and Culture, of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy A. Kyuta was elected chairman of the Commission.

A report on the first question on the agenda was given by Chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy A. Ryuytel'.

Participants in the discussion after the report were deputies M. Metsamaa (Tallinn-Lekholaskiy Electoral District No. 78); R. Sheremeta (Viyvikonna Electoral District No. 100); L. Puksa (Elvaskiy Electoral District No. 252); M. Mikk (Tartu-Tyakhtvereskiy Electoral District No. 135); G. Sarri (Kingisepp-Morskoy Electoral District No. 193); L. Alikhver (Narva-Zheleznodorozhnyy Electoral District No. 105); I. Mets (Koygiskiy Electoral District No. 205); E. Sakkool' (Rakkeskiy Electoral District No. 232); A. Kyulaots (Leyziskiy Electoral District No. 188); V. Khal'magi (Vyr-Komsomol'skiy Electoral District No. 277); Kh. Pyldmaa (Vigalaskiy Electoral District No. 244); as well as Chairman of the Kalininskiy Rayon Executive Committee, in the city of Tallinn, V. Ivanov.

The session adopted the Decree entitled "Tasks of Improving the Activity of the ESSR Soviets of People's Deputies, Which Tasks Evolve from the Decisions of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and the Principles and Conclusions Expounded in the Statements by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko."

A report on the second question on the agenda was given by Deputy Chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, Deputy I. Toome. A supplementary report was given by Chairman of the Commission on Public Education and Culture, of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy A. Kyutt.

Participants in the discussion were deputies U. El'mi (Tallinn-Kosklaskiy Electoral District No. 66); M. Kask (Tartu-Saareskiy Electoral District No. 148); L. Piysalu (Rakvereskiy-Kingiseppskiy Electoral District No. 235); U. Tinit (Kekhtnaskiy Electoral District No. 241); and E. Cherevashko (Narva-Tallinskiy Electoral District No. 114).

The session adopted the Decree entitled "The Implementation of the Basic Directions in the Reform of the General-Educational and Vocational School System in ESSR."

In the course of the session, an inquiry addressed to the ESSR Council of Ministers was made by deputy to the ESSR Supreme Soviet, T. Pikhlakas (Sommerlingskiy Electoral District No. 166).

The inquiry was additionally included in the agenda.

The 9th Session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, will continue its work on 9 June.

Responsible worker of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, V. Zabaznov, is taking part in the work of the session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

#### 9 June Information Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Jun 84 p 1

[ETA item: "Information Report"]

[Text] The 9th Session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, continued its work at Toompea in Tallinn on 9 June.

A report on the third question on the agenda was given by Chairman of the ESSR Committee of People's Control, Deputy O. Merimaa.

Participants in the discussion were deputies V. Roosmaa (Payde Electoral District No. 203); M. Sistok (Tamsalu Electoral District No. 230); L. Allika (Tallin-Ekhitayateskiy Electoral District No. 76); E. Liyvakivi (Vikhulaskiy Electoral District No. 223); N. Korniyenko (Tallin-Leningradskiy Electoral District No. 53).

The session adopted the decree entitled "The Activity of the ESSR Agencies of People's Control in Reinforcing Planning and State Discipline and in Increasing the Effectiveness of Social Production."

In response to a report by secretary of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy V. Vakht, the session approved the Ukases of the ESSR Supreme Soviet which were adopted during the break between sessions.

In the course of the session an inquiry addressed to the ESSR Council of Ministers was made by deputy to the ESSR Supreme Soviet, T. Pikhlakas (Sommerling-skiy Electoral District No. 166). The inquiry was additionally included in the agenda. In response to the reply given by ESSR Minister of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Kh. Myannik, an appropriate decree of the Estonian SSR was adopted.

Thereupon the 9th Session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, completed its work.

#### Presidium Chairman Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 9 Jun 84 pp 1-2

[Report by Chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy A. F. Ryuytel': "The Tasks of Improving the Activity of the ESSR Soviets of People's Deputies, Which Tasks Evolve from the Decisions of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and the Principles and Conclusions Expounded in the Statements by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko"]

[Text] The questions of improving the work of the Soviet's of People's Deputies have always been in the center of attention of the CPSU. The April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the sessions that followed that

Plenum -- the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet -- are the latest brilliant confirmation of this.

Recently there was a businesslike, critical discussion of the work of our Soviet agencies at the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia [ECP].

The Soviets of People's Deputies are assigned a leading role in carrying out the socioeconomic policy of the state. They have been called upon to carry out their large rights and to fulfill their responsible duties, to act aggressively and efficiently, to rely constantly on the masses, and to involve a greater and greater number of persons of labor in the administration of the affairs of society and the state. This is the absolutely first duty of the Soviets and their agencies, and herein lie the basic directions in the work of the Soviets, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said in his speech at the Plenum. And it is from here that the task evolves for the deputies to the ESSR Supreme Soviet and the deputies to all the 265 local Soviets in our republic -- the task of analyzing all aspects of our activity, of making from this the practical conclusions for the effective organization of the work of the Soviets.

In the decisions of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko a procedure was set down for improving the style and methods of work for the Soviets, and the basic directions for that work were indicated. Special emphasis was made on the questions of the economy. For the purpose of achieving a further democratization in the activity of the Soviets, the function that is moving into the foreground is the control function of the Soviet authority, which is, in particular, the cornerstone in the job of increasing the influence of the Soviets upon the resolution of economic problems.

At the previous session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet we considered the results of the fulfillment of the plan for the economic and social development of ESSR for 1983 and approved the new plan for 1984. The basic indicators in last year's plan were, for the most part, fulfilled. The fulfillment of the 1984 state plan until now has also been proceeding at a completely successful rate. However, nine production associations and enterprises have failed to cope with the fulfillment of the plan for the first five months for the sale of industrial output. They include such large-scale enterprises as the Vol'ta Plant, the Kommunar, Estremrybflot Associations, and the Factory imeni 1 Dekabrya. Seven enterprises failed to fulfill the plan for increasing labor productivity. One sees in this, first of all, the effect of the unsatisfactory work of the corresponding ministries, the enterprises that were mentioned, the economic managers, and also the insufficient attention devoted by the Soviets to the work of the enterprises operating on the territory of the city and the rayon.

The assignments for state purchases of products of animal husbandry are being successfully fulfilled in our republic during the current year.

All the rayons in the republic have coped with the assignments for procurement. At the same time a number of farms have been experiencing difficulties with the fulfillment of the plans.

In conformity with the requirements of the April Plenum, the Soviets of People's Deputies must increase everywhere the demandingness toward their work and the work of the economic managers. It is especially inadmissible if the projects for the local economy which have been ordered by the executive committees are not being built, as occurred in the city of Pyarnu, and in Vil'yandiskiy, Kingiseppskiy, and Pylvaskiy Rayons. The Soviets have been making poor use of the rights granted to them with regard to the enterprises that have not been fulfilling the plan. Work forms that long ago proved their value in the activity of the Soviets -- such as the creation of deputy groups at the most important construction projects, the requiring of economic managers to give oral reports, the informing of superior agencies concerning shortcomings in the work of subordinate ones, etc. -- are almost completely unused.

The republic's Council of Ministers regularly considers the rate of fulfillment of the state plans, and, as a rule, takes steps in a time-responsive manner to eliminate any shortcomings that exist. The rate of results of the decrees adopted by the republic's Council of Ministers depends to a large extent upon the participation of the ministries and the local Soviets.

The rate of fulfillment of the plans that have been legalized by the ESSR Supreme Soviet, both as a whole and with regard to its individual sections, has always been under the supervision of the Budgetary-Planning and other permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet. But here too one can observe a shortage of demandingness during the implementation of the decisions that have been made.

It is necessary to do everything to assure the fulfillment of the delivery pledges and the tasks assigned by the part for achieving an additional increase in labor productivity by one percent as compared with the planned assignment and lowering production costs by 0.5 percent in excess of the plan.

When resolving the economic problems, the Soviets should not forget the social questions. It is necessary to strive constantly for the complete development of the rayons and cities and to take into consideration the interests of the cities, the rayons, the settlements, and the villages as a whole, as well as the enterprises, institutions, organizations, and all the citizens situated there.

The USSR Constitution and the laws evolving from it give the Soviets of People's Deputies exceptionally large rights in guaranteeing the complete economic and social development on their territory. But the large potential and opportunities of our Soviets are not yet being used satisfactorily. Things are far from satisfactory in the interrelations that the republic's local Soviets have with the enterprises of higher subordination that are situated on their territory.

Many economic managers are concerned about the construction or remodeling of their own enterprise, but consider the building of housing, kindergartens, hospitals, schools, clubs, and purification plants to be a task of secondary importance. Thus they fail to fulfill their direct duties not only with respect to the city or rayon, but also with respect to their workers, but failing to provide them with the normal working and everyday living conditions. This manifests itself clearly in the branches, departments, and shops of the production associations, the lead enterprise of which is located in another city or rayon.

The enterprises of republic and union subordination are required to submit for consideration to the executive committee of the appropriate rayon or city Soviet a number of planning indicators and to inform them in the event of any change in those indicators. Unfortunately, this requirement is not yet being executed by all the economic managers.

Practically speaking, the agenda does not deal with questions of the complete consideration of the activities of the enterprises of higher subordination with regard to their participation in the resolution of problems of a local nature. While individual Soviets have engaged in such resolutions, those decisions are being fulfilled slowly and in a halfway manner.

A large amount of work in making cooperative use of the funds of enterprises situated on the territory of the city was carried out by the Tallinn City Soviet. Every year, cooperative funds are used in Tallinn to build more than 1000 apartments, half the kindergartens, and many municipal projects -- with a total value of 7 million rubles. In Tallinn, good contact and mutual understanding have been achieved between the agencies of authority and the economic organizations with regard to the development of the urban economy and the social infrastructure.

However, one also observes here, unfortunately, that everything that has been planned is not being implemented in a planned or unobstructed manner. It is already clear that some of the projects that were included in this plan will not be ready during the current five-year plan.

The work of the local Soviets has never been limited to the problems of zonal importance, because currently any local matters, more than ever before, depend of the degree of success with which the state matters are developing. Therefore, as Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko said at the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "every local Soviet must always be a painstaking conductor of the nationwide interests, must constantly keep in its field of vision the fulfillment of such nationwide programs as the Energy Program and the Food Program, the production of consumer goods, and the reform of the general-educational and vocational school system."

The carrying out, in our republic, of the tasks that evolve from the Food Program has been beneficially influenced by the creation in all rayons of agroindustrial associations, as well as the republic link -- the ESSR Agroindustrial Association [Agroprom].

The rayon Soviet directs the agriculture and other branches of the agroindustrial complex basically by directing and checking the work of the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial complex], but the intradepartmental economic-production and organizational questions are resolved by the association itself. Therefore the rayon Soviets must devote more attention precisely to the questions of increasing the control and supervision over the production and procurement of agricultural products and must find more effective forms of working in order to guarantee the optimal results.

It is necessary to refine certain functions of the rayon Soviets and to make changes in the structure of the executive committees of the rayon Soviets as a result of the creation of the agroindustrial associations and the elimination of the agricultural administrations of the executive committees.

When executing the Food Program, the local Soviets are required to take a more careful attitude toward everything that is connected with the efficient use of the land by all the persons using it. A definite place is occupied in this work by the rural Soviets. In recent years one has sensed in their activity a decrease in their rate of participation, and a lack of concreteness. The agricultural enterprises, horticultural cooperatives, the personal plots cultivated by the citizens, and the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises must do everything possible to increase the production of agricultural output. The guiding and checking of this work, the carrying out duties as an assistant in this matter, constitute the duty of all the rural Soviets.

The ESSR Soviets of People's Deputies will now have to engage more broadly in the fulfillment of the Energy Program on their own administrative territory. The local Soviets have considered and approved at their sessions the measures for the economical use of energy resources. For the most part they are of an organizational nature. It is necessary to intensify the supervision of their fulfillment. Simultaneously, in addition to the organizational measures, it is necessary to seek ways to introduce technological schemes that require less energy.

Large rights have been granted to the Soviets of People's Deputies in the area of the development of the production of consumer goods. The local Soviets have the right, irrespective of the subordination, to check and coordinate the activity of all the enterprises that are situated on its territory, that are engaged in the production of consumer goods, and the ministries and enterprises are required to coordinate with the local Soviets the plans for the production of those commodities.

Another problem is the acceleration of the production of high-grade consumer goods and the improvement of their products list, and the broad use of local raw materials and production waste products. In this matter the Soviets of People's Deputies should not limit themselves to stating the facts. The production of consumer goods should be purposefully organized, and there must be a struggle to assure high-grade output.

When speaking about the resolution of social problems, we might note that housing construction in our republic has been proceeding at good rates. The 1983 plan for the turning over of housing for operation by fulfilled by 103 percent in the republic. Nevertheless, last year all the opportunities were not used.

The capital repair of housing requires the more serious attitude and concern on the part of the Soviets of People's Deputies. It is time to put an end to the practice whereby the executive committees in a number of rayons and cities, several times in the course of the year, change the plan for the capital repair of structures in the housing fund, and the resources that have been allocated for the repair of housing are used for other purposes. It is necessary to wage a more decisive struggle against the indebtedness in apartment rental. Questions of the municipal management are continuing to be resolved unsatisfactorily. With a sense of regret it must now be stated that the enterprises in the system of the ESSR Ministry of Construction have been failing for a prolonged period of time to cope with the fulfillment of the plans for the construction of buildings intended for educational and social-everyday purposes.

Constant attention must be devoted to the complete satisfying of the daily needs and demands of people. Practical life indicates that wherever the services provided to the public are well organized, and the institutions of trade, public health, and personal services are operating well, wherever the work of transportation and communication is well organized and there is no manpower problem, the best results are achieved on the job. If one attentively analyzes the state of affairs in construction in the rayons and cities, it becomes clear that much depends upon the initiative of the executive committees of the Soviets. Wherever the people engage decisively and boldly in the job at hand, the success is almost always guaranteed.

It is necessary to improve the work of many republic ministries, state committees, departments, and institutions, to assure the better satisfying of people's cultural, everyday, and social needs at their place of residence.

The services must also be accessible to the workers at their place of work. Constant concern for the availability and good organization in the work of dining halls, stores, snack bars, personal-services centers, and medical centers is the task of the economic and Soviet workers and the deputies.

An important place in the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies is occupied by the indoctrination of the upcoming generation, and the questions of public education and the organization of cultivated recreational activities. The responsibility borne by the Soviets of People's Deputies, and by their executive committees and permanent commissions, in resolving the problems of public education under the conditions of the school reform must increase considerably. The correct development of the rural school network, the creation of schools in places where they are needed, the construction of children's preschool institutions, the showing of increased attention to the labor indoctrination -- all these things must be in the center of attention of the Soviets of People's Deputies.

When organizing the cultural measures in the rural locality and in the cities, the appropriate departments must carefully stipulate the possibilities for cultivated recreational activities. It is necessary to create a system which will guarantee the carrying out of an effect on the value orientations of the young people in the particular locality. When resolving these and many other questions, the Soviets must reinforce the interaction with the trade-union and Komsomol organizations, the other public organizations, and the public's spontaneous-action agencies.

We receive indispensable information about the public's need as a result of the mandates that the voters give to the deputies. The mandates usually reflect the problems that are of great public importance. Of the mandates that were given in the course of the 1982 electoral campaign to the deputies to local Soviets, 865 are being executed and, together with the mandates that were given previously but were not implemented during the most recent convocation of the local Soviets, 1001 mandates are in the stage of implementation.

For example, in the city of Tallinn, on the basis of the mandates from the voters, the following have been turned over for operation: personal-services centers in housing area No. 6 in Mustamyae and housing area No. 1 in Lasnamyae; the Minsk Store, the Neytsitorn Cafe, a clinic in Vyayke-Yysmyae, and several

buildings to house secondary schools and kindergarten-nurseries. In addition, important transportation junctions have been remodeled, and the construction of a new viaduct along Pyarnuskoye Shosse is proceeding at full speed. Or take Vil'yandiskiy Rayon: the hothouse complex of the Vana-Vyyduskoye Branch of the Base-Model Sovkhoz imeni Gagarin, the grain drier and warehouse in Mustla, the 12-apartment building for the teachers in the Mustla Secondary School, and the Ramsiskiy Medical Aid and Midwife Center were all constructed in accordance with the mandates of the voters.

However, the fulfillment of the mandates is proceeding well in farm from all the Soviets. Of the mandates to the deputies to the ESSR Supreme Soviet, only 138, or 43.4 percent, have been implemented. The situation is somewhat better with the fulfillment of the mandates to the deputies to the local Soviets.

At the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was emphasized that, in addition to the search for new forms and structures of economic activity, it is necessary to make more effective use of the existing forms of administration, and primarily the Soviet agencies. It is natural that, at such time, the structure of the Soviets, and especially the rural ones, corresponds to the structure of the economic organizations.

The ESSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium regularly consider the most vitally important aspects of the activity of the local Soviets and make decisions regarding that guarantee the carrying out by the local Soviets of the most important questions from the same positions. A large amount of work was carried out in the guidance of the activity of the executive and directive agencies by the ESSR Council of Ministers. A practice that has become firmly established in our republic is the holding of regular seminar-conferences for chairmen of the executive committees of the local Soviets.

An important form of generalizing and disseminating the experience gained by the low-level Soviets has been, in the Tallin and Pyarnu City Soviets and in the Vil'yandiskiy, Paydeskiy, and other rayon Soviets, the requesting of the low-level Soviets to give oral reports at the sessions.

The reinforcement of the democratic principles in the activity of the Soviets presupposed, first of all, the expansion of the publicity about their work. In this regard, the press, radio, and television act as reliable assistants to the Soviets. At the present time one can discuss not so much the ways to increase the quantity of materials concerning Soviet work, as assuring that the information is meaningful, timely, and of vital importance.

It would be desirable to make more active use, for throwing light upon the work of the Soviets, of the departmental publications and various other local forms of publicity (wall newspapers, newsletters, graphic forms of agitation, etc.). It is especially important for the Soviets themselves to show more initiative in familiarizing the public with their activity.

When conducting the reports of the executive committees and their departments and administrations, one should not overlook the demands of the small labor collectives. The reports should be given in all parts of the city or rayon, and at the places where the citizens live. It is necessary to improve the

conducting of reports by the deputies. The deputies have sent a suggestion that has been approved by the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet -- the conducting of an annual Supreme Soviet Deputies Day, when all the deputies to the ESSR Supreme Soviet work at their places in their home electoral district, and subsequently inform the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet about what they have done. One could use the same principle to conduct, once or twice a year, rayon-wide or city-wide Deputy Days, if the appropriate Soviet makes that decision.

All the suggestions made during the discussion of a report by the executive committee, its department or administration, or a deputy, must be registered. It is necessary in every Soviet to establish a precise procedure for their execution. The public should be regularly and thoroughly informed of the execution of the suggestions. All this will serve to reinforce the ties between the Soviet and the public.

The workers' letters are just as important. However, an analysis of the replies given to citizens indicates that the proper attention is not devoted to this work everywhere. There have been instances of failure to observe the deadlines for the prompt, complete, and objective checking of the complaints and statements, and instances of giving formal replies to citizens. Frequently there is a lack of the necessary supervision over the fulfillment of the decisions that were made on the basis of the citizen's written and oral statements.

The higher administrative echelons receive a large number of letters dealing with questions that fall within the competency of the local Soviets and economic agencies. This attests to the irresponsible attitude taken by certain local agencies of authority and certain officials to the resolution of the problems that are raised in the letters, and lowers the authority of the local agencies of authority.

Comparatively frequently the citizens get in touch with the Soviet agencies on matters dealing with the housing management. Therefore the questions of the housing and municipal management must be given the most careful attention by the Soviets of People's Deputies and their agencies.

Many shortcomings have been caused by the failure to observe the requirements of the ESSR Housing Code and the rules for registering citizens who need an improvement in their housing conditions and who need to have housing provided to them.

Guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, Estonian SSR has carried out a considerable amount of work to improve the legislation and to put it into conformity with the USSR Constitution and the ESSR Constitution. New legislative acts which have fundamental importance have been enacted, such as the Law Governing the Protection of Atmospheric Air, the Law Governing the Protection and Use of the Animal Kingdom, the republic's Housing Code, etc. The first volume of "Svod zakonov Estonskoy SSR" [Collection of ESSR Laws] has been published.

I would like to draw attention to the need for the unconditional fulfillment of the laws and other legal acts, and the complete protection of the rights of the

citizens. We still observe little work on the part of the commissions under the local Soviets of People's Deputies, which have been given the responsibility of working with minors and women, of protecting the public order, and carrying out the functions of observation. One can expect and demand more of the law-enforcement agencies.

Not all the Soviets and their agencies know how to prepare a long-term program of activities, or how to organize a reliable system of control that would guarantee the fulfillment of the decisions made by the Soviets and their agencies. In the work of the Soviets one still observe sporadic efforts in frequent instances.

As is well known, the basic form of the activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies is the session. It is precisely there that one sees the most complete manifestation of the essence of the Soviets -- the true agencies of the sovereignty of the people, which express the interests and the collective experience of the masses of the people, as was noted at the April Plenum of the CPSU Plenum by Comrade K. U. Chernenko.

All the local Soviets in Estonian SSR conducted, in 1983, the legally stipulated number of sessions. The debates at the sessions were carried out rather actively. For 50 percent of the questions considered, the report or the supplementary report was prepared by the permanent commissions. The sessions are conducted with the participation of the representatives of the public and of economic managers. Usually the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the ESSR Supreme Soviet are present at sessions of the rayon and city Soviets.

In most instances the questions are carefully worked out by the executive committees before the session, and the opinions and recommendations of the labor collectives and the public are ascertained.

However, one can cite examples that attest to the fact that there is no active or serious exchange of opinions at the session, and the supplementary reports of the permanent commissions are not always presented. The Soviet do not always consult with the public or the labor collectives before the session and do not acquaint the workers with the basic principles of the report. As a result, this gives rise to unsubstantiated decisions.

One of the ways to intensify the effectiveness of the Soviets is the making of a decision on the basis of deputy inquiries.

In 1983 the republic's local Soviets received 317 inquiries, which is somewhat more than in 1982. However, this constitutes an average of only one inquiry per 35 deputies. Inquiries are infrequent at the Khapsaulskiy, Khiyumaaskiy, and Valgaskiy Rayon Soviets, and the Narva, Sillamyae, and Tartu City Soviets.

The effective activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies depends to a large degree upon the skillful use of the potential of the permanent commissions.

The work of the commissions during recent time has become more concrete and more effective. The permanent commissions of ESSR Supreme Soviet have reinforced the cooperation with the appropriate permanent commissions of the city and rayon Soviets. The activity of the commissions has provided much that is

desirable. But at the same time they, for example, do not always ask for oral reports, within the limits of their competency, from the managers of the departments and administrations of the executive committees of the Soviets, and do not require them to give any explanations with regard to the questions of fulfilling the decisions of the Soviet, its executive committee, or superior agencies. Certain commission do not involve in the preparation of questions the agencies of people's control or the representatives of public organizations, and fail to use the help of specialists and scientists. In many instances the consideration of the reports on the work of the permanent commissions at sessions of the Soviets is of a formal nature.

With the increase in the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies there must also be an increase in the activity of the executive and directive agencies of the Soviets -- the USSR Council of Ministers and the executive committees of the local Soviets.

In order to facilitate the execution of their rights and duties, the executive committees must improve the planning of their work and the work of the executive committee apparatus as a whole, must improve the organization of the execution of their decisions and the decisions of the superior state agencies, must improve the office management procedures, and increase the working efficiency of the Soviet apparatus.

At the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the question of reducing the administrative apparatus was sharply raised. We have undertaken a reduction both with regard to the lower and middle administrative link, and at the highest level. Naturally, the ESSR Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets must engaged in this serious matter. The need to reduce the size of the administrative apparatus is obvious. The goal assigned has been to achieve the optimal correlation between the number of workers employed in administration and in production, and to eliminate the causes of the inflation of the administrative apparatus. In this regard it is necessary to undertake radical measures to improve administrative labor, to increase its level of technical outfitting, to introduce NOT [scientific organization of labor], to publicize advanced experience, and to disseminate everything that is advanced. It is necessary to free workers from the deciding of questions that are part of the competency of other departments, the preparation of excessive pieces of paper, and the collection of various information, with or without a reason.

The measures to be developed in all the republic's Soviets for increasing the role of the agencies of the sovereignty of the people, Comrade A. Ryuytel' said in conclusion, must be aimed at achieving the fulfillment of the adopted plans and at guaranteeing the more complete satisfaction of the nation's needs. In this regard one cannot get along without mobilizing the people for the specific tasks, or without locating and using all the real means and efforts.

## REGIONAL

### ESTONIAN MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS ON 'SWIFT AND SURE PUNISHMENTS'

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 3, Mar 84 (signed to press 13 Mar 84) pp 26-32

[Interview with Maj Gen Internal Service M. Tibar, the republic's minister of internal affairs, by Viktor Peterson: "From an Infraction of Discipline to a Crime--One Step"]

[Text] In the developed social society, in a situation of rapid economic, social, and scientific and technical progress, production scales are growing, management relations are becoming more complicated, and the role and importance of aware discipline and responsibility are increasing sharply. This is why the course taken by the Communist Party toward the all-round strengthening of discipline and order was urgently dictated by life itself.

"The matter of organization and order," comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "is the key issue, one of fundamental importance, for us. There can be no divergence of opinion on this matter. Any lack of discipline or responsibility is not merely materially costly to the society. It causes serious social and moral damage. We communists understand this well, as do millions of Soviet people. And it is perfectly natural that the steps taken by the party to enhance labor, production, plan and state discipline and to strengthen socialist legality have met with truly universal approval among the people.

One meaning of the Latin word "disciplina" is "strict order."\* Discipline and order were therefore originally considered to be synonymous concepts. As social phenomena they are closely interlinked in the society's life, because there can be no proper order without firm discipline. This interrelationship is manifested primarily in law and order, an area of social relations in the practices of maintaining which we know of many instances in which infractions of discipline have developed into serious crimes.

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\* "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya [Philosophical Encyclopedia], Moscow, 1962, Vol 2, p 21.

The main objective of the following interview with Major General of Internal Service M. Tibar, the republic's minister of internal affairs, which does not claim to discuss the functioning of the internal affairs agencies in detail, is to shed light on certain aspects of the "infraction of discipline-crime" interrelationship.

[Question] In accordance with the position outlined at the November 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, party, state and public organizations are making a vigorous effort to strengthen discipline and organization in all areas of our lives. We can assume that the internal affairs agencies also have some major new tasks in this respect. Is this the case?

[Answer] Absolutely. I would begin by saying that the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and its institutions exist not in and of themselves but are a component of our state system--a specific component--designed to guard socialist law and order. In order to strengthen law and order, however, to maintain it at a level which conforms to the state of mature socialism in the Soviet society's development and which measures up to the new and higher demands being made of us by the Communist Party, we must first of all maintain the strictest of order in our own house, as they say. The collectives of the internal affairs agencies are aware of the fact that they can be on top of their tasks today only with irreproachable organization and discipline, an awareness of their great predestination and their duty to the Soviet people, precision and efficiency of performance, and undeviating observance of socialist legality. And so, legality, order, organization responsibility and discipline are certainly not some sort of abstract classifications for us in the sense that because of the nature of our service we are required to instill them not merely somewhere over there, beyond the boundaries of our department. They apply to us ourselves first of all. And our prime task stems from this.

The June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the fact that the indoctrination of the new man cannot be separated from a most vigorous campaign against drunkenness, hooliganism and parasitism, speculation and theft of socialist property, bribe-taking and greed. The task of eliminating these repulsive phenomena is assigned primarily to the internal affairs agencies. In a certain sense then, we might say that our place is at the forward edge of the struggle to accomplish the party's strategic tasks of perfecting developed socialism, thoroughly and in a planned manner. And the forward edge always involves responsibility for many things.

The second task--that of strengthening the cadres in the internal affairs agencies, particularly the police agencies--is directly linked to the first task. Extremely rigid demands are now being made of our cadres, whether it be their level of education or general legal sophistication, their professional competence, the results of their work or their service discipline. We are resolutely ridding ourselves of those who do not meet the new criteria or, as we say in the process of officer certification, those who fall under the definition of "service incompatibility." This especially applies to those who have tarnished the honor and title of a police worker.

Quite a bit has been done to strengthen our cadres, especially to enhance their professionalism and efficiency and their preparedness to protect the interests of the society and the citizens at any time. It would be pointless to enumerate here all of the steps which are being taken. I shall mention only the latest, large-scale measure--the creation of political organs within the Ministry of Internal Affairs in accordance with a decree passed by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. They are charged with organizing and directing party-political, ideological-indoctrinational and cultural-educational work in the subdivisions of the MVD, and increasing the responsibility of the personnel for the fulfillment of their service duty.

And the third, general task which "fits" into the subject of this discussion is naturally that of further intensifying the campaign against all sorts of legal violations. This task has always faced the internal affairs agencies, and will continue to do so, but in the situation of the national movement to strengthen order and organization, it is becoming filled with special meaning and placing special responsibility on us.

[Question] It is logical to assume that the universal strengthening of public discipline on the very broadest scale should objectively contribute to the improvement of law and order. What could you tell us about this interrelationship?

[Answer] This is a most direct interrelationship. To begin, let us dream a little, perhaps fantasize a bit. Let us imagine for a moment a situation in which each member of the society in his place will absolutely observe all of the rules and demands, do everything he is supposed to do and not violate any kind of discipline, not to speak of committing crimes--this goes without saying. In this case ideal order, which is what we are actually striving for--all the more as we go on--would set in universally and in all things.

Unfortunately, the actual situation is still far from the ideal. It demonstrates the fact that it is precisely lack of discipline and disorder--what are referred to as conditions contributing to crime, in the language of criminology--which are serving as the fertile soil for numerous crimes. Many crimes would not be committed if these conditions did not exist. From the standpoint of law enforcement agencies the current campaign to further strengthen discipline and order could therefore be called a preventive measure on a general state scale. It is unquestionably creating conditions conducive also to the intensification of the campaign against crime, which, I hope, will ultimately result in a marked reduction in crime.

Let us take traffic discipline as an example. If all the participants in the traffic, without exception--drivers of all sorts of vehicles and pedestrians--strictly observed discipline, there would naturally be no road incidents or accidents at all, none of that for which the society frequently pays too dearly--with human lives, crippling injuries and large material losses. Every motor vehicle collision and every instance in which a pedestrian is struck is essentially the result of someone's violation of the traffic rules, sometimes the most elementary rules--an infraction of discipline and order on the transport thoroughfares, to use terminology more consistent with the subject.

This example clearly illustrates the direct relationship between infractions of discipline and crimes. The former is frequently only a step away from the latter. If I return completely to the basis of today's realities, I would have to add the fact that criminally punishable violations of traffic discipline presently account for approximately 4 percent of all the crimes recorded in the republic.

[Question] Could you name a number of other crimes, the first step on the path to the commission of which is, once again, an infraction of discipline...?

[Answer] There are quite a few such crimes. I shall mention just one of them. The matter of strengthening plan discipline is presently being raised, perfectly justifiably and acutely. The need for strict observance was underscored once again at the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. I do not need to demonstrate how important this is in the socialist society, whose economy is developed on a strictly planned basis. We all know this very well. I would not attempt to say precisely what large and small infractions of planning discipline cost the state. We can only guess. Let us take a look at the problem from the standpoint of criminal law, the "infraction of discipline-crime" linkage.

It frequently happens that a certain management leader fails to assure fulfillment of the production plan due to his own inefficiency or negligence, or for some other reason. And the plan has to be fulfilled. He is held accountable, extremely strictly accountable, for this. In such cases certain managers turn to the slippery path of padded figures in order to bring the plan "up to the required level." Padding itself is a criminal offense, but the chain of criminal acts does not stop there. The fact is that bonuses are awarded for fulfilling and exceeding the plan. And the acceptance of an unlawful bonus is itself classified as theft of socialist property. Here you have one more example of how simple it is to go from an infraction of discipline--planning discipline in this case--to an extremely serious crime.

The moral harm invariably inflicted upon the labor collective in which padding is done does not lend itself to any sort of calculation. You tell me what sort of order, what sort of discipline, can be demanded by an enterprise leadership which deliberately commits a crime. The padding becomes a matter of the collective. The people are not blind and not deaf: They understand very well where things come from and how they come to be paid an unearned bonus. Now let us imagine the following situation--not a far-fetched situation, but a perfectly realistic one--amusing in some ways, but extremely sad with respect to its moral consequences. Let us say that some worker at the enterprise has been guilty of absenteeism, and according to the statute on bonuses he is supposed to be deprived of the additional reward for this. And they solemnly deprive him of the unlawful bonus. You can judge for yourself the value of such a penalty. We could continue the discussion of the consequences of infractions of planning discipline and of padding--they provide rich food for thought.

For the readers' information I will say that certain enterprise heads have been brought to criminal accountability for padding and for unlawful bonuses in the

republic. The former directors of the Pyarnu Brewery and the Tartu Bakery Combine were punished for such actions. We shall continue to direct our subdivisions for BKhSS [combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation] to work vigorously to detect and investigate cases of padding.

[Question] Abuse of alcohol and drunkenness is just about the main cause of many infractions of discipline and order, including public order. This means that the outcome of the campaign for exemplary order will depend to a significant degree on how successfully this social evil is eradicated. Such is the interdependence between drunkenness and crime. What do you have to say about this matter?

[Answer] The effect of drunkenness upon the dynamics and the structure of violations of the law is well known even to the uninitiated. We feel it at literally every step, even without considering the great load of our "most expensive hotels," as the detoxication facilities are referred to by their clientele. Half of all serious crimes are committed by individuals in a state of inebriation, for example, and the figure is even greater for heinous crimes. Furthermore, a significant portion of the crimes involving property, although committed by individuals in a sober state, are still committed for purposes of obtaining means of procuring alcoholic beverages. Certain types of infractions of the law, such as the leading of a parasitic life, vagrancy and others, are exclusively the result of the individuals' degradation stemming from prolonged abuse of alcohol.

Regular drunkenness on the part of parents is the cause of lack of supervision for children and at the same time a factor contributing to infractions of the law by minors. I have given far from a complete list of examples describing the relationship between drunkenness and crime. The list is far longer than this. Take one more, not unimportant, detail: The victims of crimes include many people who were intoxicated at the time they were molested.

A great deal has been said about the extremely negative effects of drunkenness and alcoholism upon other aspects of social life, and I feel that the readers are sufficiently informed about this. This is what I would like to mention. I am certainly not of the opinion that we are doing little to combat the abuse of alcohol. On the contrary, we are doing a great deal. Despite all of our efforts, however, we have still not achieved the desired results.

Among the causes of the poor results in the campaign against alcohol I consider the main one to be the erroneous shifting of the focus in the campaign from drunkenness to the drunk. This means that we are combating not so much the phenomenon as much as its effects, not so much rooting out the causes as much as struggling--and sometimes in vain--to eliminate the negative results. It would therefore be fairly difficult to count on rapid success.

I see the task of the internal affairs agencies as one of using all the means at our disposal to help intensify the campaign against alcohol in the labor collectives, where the vast majority of those who abuse alcohol work, and where--there is no point in trying to hide it--they become absolute drunkards before the eyes of their comrades.

I am thoroughly convinced that an attitude of severe criticism on the part of the labor collective toward the drunkard, in other words, individual preventive work, in combination with other measures, is the most important reserve for combating drunkards--unfortunately, still the least used reserve. And the drunkard brazenly counts on the complacency and indulgence of his comrades at work, and on the administration's production, personnel and other difficulties.

I believe we should take another close look at the status of the alcoholic, so to speak. Does he still deserve the right to be referred to so tenderly as "sick." I am aware of the fact that medical science considers him to be sick, and probably with justification, with all the consequences stemming from this. Nonetheless, all of man's nature rebels against the identification of the alcoholic with other sick people, who are surrounded with tender care in our society. This is an acquired disease, after all, and a result of deliberate and systematic moral decay. Should this not also entail a somewhat different attitude?

The initiative of those production enterprises which have created alcohol and drug abuse offices and permanent facilities for the treatment of drunkards, without disrupting their production work or isolating them from their families, is deserving of approval. The more difficult cases invariably end with the individual's being sent to one of our preventive, corrective-labor facilities. The road there--from the first glass to alcoholism--is long enough for the trip to be halted with a common effort.

[Question] The opinion exists--and it is very widespread--that the only way to strengthen law and order is to make the penal policy more severe. There are fervent proponents of this, but there are also numerous critics. Where does the golden mean lie?

[Answer] Quite often you hear people speaking out in favor of increasing the liability of violators of the law. I myself hear them every political day, when I address the labor collectives. Some people reason approximately this way: We only need to increase the sanctions specified in the Criminal Code--extend the period of imprisonment by another couple of years, imprison people for the slightest offense--and complete order will immediately set in. The error of this viewpoint is obvious, and it needs to be vigorously refuted with the legal propaganda means. The imposition of strict punishment for a crime, the serving of the complete sentence without any sort of release on parole and without deferments, only at first glance appears to be promising and effective in the campaign against crime. Everything is actually far more complex.

History has known many attempts to put an end to crime with harsh, even cruel, methods. We do not need to look into history, however. Let us take a look at the world today. Medieval punishments are being revived in certain nations--the Sudan, Pakistan and Iran--and clearly not as a result of the good life. The shari'a, long known for its brutality, is being applied in the case of criminal offenses. A thief, for example, is publically subjected to all sorts of barbarous corporal punishments such as floggings, the cutting off of the right hand, and so forth, which intimidate other people. Human experience, however, as personified by criminal statistics in our case, inexorably convinces us that the direction of the crime curve has never yet been altered with cruelty.

I shall cite an example from our experience. For heinous crimes Soviet criminal law calls for severe punishment--and with complete justification--even a mandatory death sentence for some. Severe punishment does not have a great preventive effect, however. The number of heinous crimes, although small in the total crime structure, is not dropping to any perceptible degree.

I am certainly not against severity. In certain cases and with respect to malicious law-breakers severity is extremely necessary. I am for a reasonable, purposive combination of indoctrinational and penal functions for the law, with a preference for the former. I do not think I will be revealing anything new when I say that the answer to the question about a golden mean lies precisely in the intelligent combining of these.

When we speak of the application of the law, it is always useful to recall once more Lenin's position that the preventive significance of punishment does not result from its cruelty at all, but from its inevitability. Therein lies the preventive role of punishment. Lenin's concept was incorporated in the 1922 and 1926 criminal codes of the RSFSR. The latter, incidentally, was enforced in our republic until 1 April 1961. When one leafs through those first criminal codes he can see that the penalties covered by the articles then were considerably milder than those of today. And this was at a time when the young Soviet Republic had inherited a "legacy" of professional crime from the autocracy, which had to be relentlessly combated. And relying upon the fairly lenient criminal law in effect at that time, our society managed to put an end to professional crime, fairly rapidly and for all time.

The following fact, repeatedly confirmed by our statistics, also speaks against making the punishments more severe: Individuals who have served a term of imprisonment in the past are repeaters of crimes far more frequently than those who were placed on prohibition.

The principle of the inevitability of punishment is fully applicable also to less dangerous violations of the law and to all sorts of disciplinary infractions. The problem is essentially one of applying this principle in all cases, without exception. But this is just what we do not always manage to do, although both the law enforcement agencies and the labor collectives have the necessary capabilities.

[Question] The adjustment of the operating hours for personal service enterprises and many other establishments and organizations, and the establishment of service hours more convenient for the citizens were an important measure contributing to the strengthening of discipline and the conservation of work time in the labor collectives. A great many people visit the internal affairs agencies. How is the reception of citizens set up in your system?

[Answer] The adjustment of the receiving hours for citizens also affected the establishments in our system. The need for this can be judged just from the fact that every adult resident of the republic comes to us an average of once a year. The number of visitors is even more impressive during the period when identity cards are exchanged. It is not difficult to guess that the large number of visits is a result of the extensive range of authority vested in the internal affairs agencies.

The territorial police departments, the motor vehicle inspectorate agencies, extra-departmental or fire-fighting agencies can be contacted round-the-clock, directly or by telephone, in the case of occurrences demanding our immediate intervention. These subdivisions operated with the same schedule in the past. Almost nothing has changed for them. The receiving of citizens in the police services most frequently visited--the identity card sections, the visa issuing department and the motor vehicle inspectorate--however, has been moved more to the evening hours and Saturdays to make it possible for all those in need of these services to transact their personal business without detriment to their work schedule. Our experience, however--and once again, the statistics--show that most of the visits continue to take place during the daytime hours, dropping markedly toward the end of the work day and stopping entirely an hour or an hour and a half before the end of the evening schedule for admitting citizens. And generally only individual citizens come on Saturdays. As far as I know, it is the same situation throughout the service sphere. This is apparently a result both of force of habit and of the fact that many labor collectives continue to freely permit anyone who wants to to be absent from the job whenever he wants.

[Question] You stated that the law enforcement agencies regard the current efforts to strengthen discipline and order as a large-scale, preventive measure. But the prevention of violations of the law is an important area of work of the internal affairs agencies themselves, after all. There is apparently an inverse relationship here?

[Answer] That is absolutely true. The fact that steps are now being taken in the labor collectives to improve organization and enhance the responsibility of each individual for the assigned job is a great help to us. For example, the establishment at their own initiative of strict order in the storage and inventorying of materials and accountability for them, especially where they are concentrated in large quantities, is one of the main preconditions for preventing possible thefts of socialist property. And the creation of these preconditions suits us very well, as you can well understand. On the other hand, when the police detect a theft and in the course of the investigation determine that lack of order in the storage and inventorying of valuables has contributed to the crime, they always attempt to correct the deficiencies they have turned up, even to the point of submitting a report at the very highest levels. In this case we can now talk about our assistance to the labor collective.

In general, I would say that the prevention of violations of the law occupies a special place in the work of the law enforcement agencies. It is far more advantageous for the society, after all to prevent violations of the law, and especially crimes, than to expose those already committed and correct their material and moral consequences. All the more, since the harm inflicted upon the society or a citizen by a crime frequently cannot be rectified at all.

Preventive work is important primarily from the standpoint of the future. The effectiveness of the prophylactic work now being performed will predetermine to a significant degree the state of law and order in the immediate and distant future. In other words, only with faultlessly organized prophylactic work is it possible to accomplish the party's program task of achieving a systematic reduction in violations of the law, followed by their complete elimination.

Not so long ago, in an attempt to step up our preventive work, attempts were made to adapt the structure of the internal affairs agencies to the nature and the specific features of preventive work. This possibly improved the level of organization of certain preventive measures. Overall, however, it had them serving only the interests of individual, leading police services. It did not help to mobilize all the personnel to take part in the preventive work. The leadership of the USSR MVD is now justifiably demanding that all of our workers engage in the prevention of violations of the law, regardless of what subdivision they work in.

A great deal could be said about preventive measures. They include the patrolling of streets and other public places, which is preventing or halting hundreds if not thousands of infractions of public order and other violations of the law: the detection of a large number of intoxicated drivers--sometimes several dozens in a day--by workers with the motor vehicle inspectorate, and their removal from the operation of vehicles, which prevent many traffic accidents; and the surveillance, provided for by law, of individuals inclined to commit violations of the law, which reduces the possibility of committing new crimes. It would be difficult to express the results of the surveillance in the language of statistics. Who can say how many criminal intentions have not been carried out because of it. We know for certain that they exist, however.

The volunteer public order patrols, the 25th anniversary of the founding of which we are commemorating this month, provide us with a great deal of assistance in the prevention of violations of the law. A decree passed by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on this occasion stressed the need to constantly perfect the work of the volunteer public order patrols, to enlarge their role in the strengthening of law and order and public discipline, and to enhance their interaction with the law enforcement agencies. These instructions are serving as our guide to action and have been accepted for undeviating fulfillment.

Legal propaganda, which workers of the internal affairs agencies perform on an extensive basis, is an independent area of preventive work. In addition to the fact that the ministry's leaders meet regularly with the workers on political days, we have also adopted a procedure whereby it is mandatory for every worker to speak in a labor collective at least once a month. And I am not speaking about those numerous instances in which operational workers or investigators report to a labor collective on a specific violation of the law committed by one of its workers. Each such activity becomes an act of legal indoctrination with a single objective: to create a climate of moral condemnation of the violator of the law in the collective, whether or not he is brought to criminal accountability, and to simultaneously provide a graphic lesson for other unstable individuals.

[Question] Management leaders have recently been coming out in the press with proposals that we create a system of economic conditions motivating each worker, each collective and enterprise to work effectively and achieve the maximum end result, asserting that when such conditions have actually been created most of the questions pertaining to discipline, which are now being resolved with difficulty will be removed from the agenda. What is your opinion on this matter?

[Answer] It is not my place to get into the area of management law, but since you have asked me, this is my answer: I believe that a system of such conditions will be created, since a need for it stems from a decree of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which states that we should vigorously perfect the system for planning and managing the economy, and the style and methods of socialist management. And this system also embraces what we are now discussing. Extremely effective economic, legal and moral means are apparently needed in equal measure to assure firm production and labor discipline. The individual should be placed in objective circumstances in which it is to his advantage to work hard and well. On the other hand, unproductive or inferior work and lack of discipline must invariably hit him hard in the pocketbook. It is my feeling that for the time being at least there is no marked difference between the material situation of the conscientious worker and the negligent one. And if the labor collectives want it very much, they can rely upon their new law to create around the violator a climate which convinces him of the senselessness of his unworthy conduct. The vast majorities of the violators work in some labor collective, after all. The trouble is that the collectives ordinarily condemn only individual infringements, assess them from a standpoint of principle and take some sort of steps to prevent them in the future. Most frequently, however, they get used to them, accept them and begin to view them as nothing out of the ordinary. In some of the collectives there is even the opinion that violations of the law are inevitable due to the specific features of their production operation and that they should be taken philosophically. Naturally, it is difficult if not impossible with such a "philosophy" to create a climate of condemnation around a specific individual, even one who has committed a serious infringement of the law.

Some management leaders, in turn, maintain that any steps to strengthen discipline are doomed to failure in advance due to the chronic shortage of workers and the intensive production assignments. I will admit that there probably is a certain relationship between the two things. Order will not be established with such attitudes, however. We have someone to look to for our example: On the Base and Model Fishery Kolkhoz imeni S.M. Kirov a loafer (if one should happen to turn up there) will find himself in a situation of such contrast to that of the industrious individual that only one clearcut conclusion can be drawn--either to work as hard as one can, strictly observe discipline and have a decent income or part with a well-paid job. We have not heard that the farm has experienced any difficulties with workers. We would be taking a big step forward in the resolution of the problem of order and discipline if everyone approached the matter as the Kirov workers do.

Incidentally, the members of that kolkhoz come to our attention extremely rarely.

[Question] And the last question. You have just stated that the Kirov workers rarely come to the attention of internal affairs agencies. It would be interesting to know in what labor collectives the members give the most problems.

[Answer] The list of these collectives has remained stable over the years and has not changed significantly. The workers of the Estremrybflot Association commit many administratively unpunished infringements of the law: Last year, for

example, there were 515 such infringements, in 356 of which drunkenness was directly involved. These "indicators" were 398 and 239 respectively for the Tallinavtotrans Association, 304 and 210 for the Tallinn Plywood and Furniture Combine, 326 and 207 for the Estrybprom Association, and so forth. It has become usual for many construction organizations to have a permanent "entry" on this list. We are especially concerned about the fact that workers of Tallinavtotrans, one of the leading transport organizations, were arrested in an intoxicated state 239 times during the year. The leaders of these enterprises have been informed of this fairly alarming situation, but only insignificant progress has been made as of now in improving the situation.

Dozens of petty thefts of socialist property are committed at the Kalev Confectionery Factory, at the Tallinn Fruit and Vegetable Trade Organization, at the Tartu and Vykhma Meat Combines, at the Valga Winery and at a number of other enterprises.

I would like to use this opportunity to stress the social danger of so-called petty thefts. They are only considered petty, after all, as long as they involve no more than a worker being caught with 1 or 2 kilograms of meat at the exit of a meat combine. How can we be certain, however, that he has not had an urge for state property in the past and not been caught? They say that one is not a thief until he has been caught. Still, however.... I recall one case from investigative experience.

While working on an entirely different case (a theft of alcohol was being investigated) we happened to discover that a certain individual working at the Tallin Meat Combine was regularly selling meat to his neighbors, acquaintances and strangers. It was determined from their statements that the individual had sold a total of around 500 kilograms of sausage and meat during a specific period of time. During the investigation the guilty party admitted that he had "carried off" a few meat products from the job each day and had never been detained at the exit. Now let us assume that he had been caught with the evidence during one of the countless thefts. He would have been registered as a petty thief. In reality, he was a most inveterate thief--the theft of half a ton of products is no joke! A close look shows that petty thefts are not as harmless as they might appear from a distance.

What am I leading up to? The police are combating petty thefts with their own means and methods, of course, and mobilizing the community for this. It is not possible for them to surround the enterprises with a chain of vigilant sentries, however. Order has to be established in the labor collectives themselves. A wholesome moral climate in the collectives and an effective checking system at the enterprise are the most important guarantee of a decisive improvement in this matter.

I cannot say how many defective items are turned out by people who arrive at the machine tool in the morning directly from the detoxication facility--if they are able to work at all, of course. Nor can I say how much food the "filchers" who have not yet been caught are stealing from their enterprise. One thing is clear: The material and moral harm caused by both the one and the other, taken together, is extremely, extremely perceptible. We should therefore combat these things with all available means, including those at the disposal of the labor collectives.

In conclusion I would like to turn to the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the comradely courts and the volunteer public order patrols of the labor collectives, to all of the population's volunteer public agencies, and stress once again the fact that only with their active assistance can we maintain exemplary law and order and socialist legality. With respect to the internal affairs institutions themselves, while performing the tasks assigned to them with a sense of responsibility, they will continue to strengthen their ties with the community and to support and develop all its useful undertakings in the joint effort to further strengthen order and discipline.

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## REGIONAL

### TAJIK CP CC BURO DISCUSSES PREPARATION OF TECHNICAL CADRES

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 Apr 84 p 1

[Report: "In the Buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan"]

[Text] Priority organizational-political and propaganda measures for implementing decisions coming out of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Comm'ttee and the principles and conclusions contained in the speech by K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were discussed at the regular meeting of the Buro of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. It was acknowledged that we must devote special attention throughout this work to further improving the performance of the soviets of people's deputies, enhancing their role in the implementation of the party's social and economic policy, and improving nation-wide statehood and socialist democracy.

The party committees were assigned the task of thoroughly considering questions pertaining to the practical implementation of the reform of our general education and vocational school, focusing attention on the implementation of demands for thorough mastery of the fundamentals of the sciences by the students, the development of strong communist convictions, industry and moral purity in them, and indoctrinating them in a spirit of love for our multinational socialist homeland and readiness to protect it in a spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The buro discussed the selection and indoctrination of leaders for agricultural enterprises and organizations. It was noted that the composition of this category of cadres is generally improving. We now have more engineers, agronomists and livestock specialists. The number of women in these professions has increased. At the same time, some party committees, ministries and departments, oblast and rayon agricultural administrations are doing little to create an effective reserve of cadres from among the specialists and sometimes advance people without the proper education or training to farm leadership positions. The buro defined measures to improve the work of selecting, distributing and creating a reserve of leading agricultural cadres, and setting up training for leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other enterprises and organizations of the agroindustrial complex.

At the meeting the buro discussed the results of the acceptance of CPSU members and changes in the composition of the republic party organization in 1983. The party committees were assigned the task of assuring that purposive work is

performed with respect to acceptance into the party and indoctrination of the communists, their ideological-political and moral conditioning. The fact was underscored that special attention must be given to the careful, individual selection of party replenishments primarily from among the workers and kolkhoz workers.

In connection with preparations for the celebration of May Day the Buro of Tajikistan's Communist Party Central Committee pointed out to the party, soviet and management agencies the need to improve the organization of trade and personal services for the population, and the work of the passenger transportation system and communications.

Certain other questions of economic and cultural development in the republic were considered in the Buro of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

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## REGIONAL

### UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET ON MISUSE OF PRIVILEGES

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Jun 84 p 1

/Article: "In the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR"/

/Text/ A regular meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR examined and approved measures to implement decisions of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the first session of the 11th Convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the propositions and conclusions presented in a speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet comrade K. U. Chernenko.

The question about observing the principles of social justice in the work of the soviets of peoples deputies in the distribution of material benefits was studied.

The decree adopted noted cases of violations of the principles of social justice by the soviets of people's deputies, ispolkoms, and administrations of enterprises and organizations. It still happens that people who are ineligible either by law or their labor contribution receive material benefits. The attention of the soviets of peoples deputies and their ispolkoms was directed to the importance of creating in each labor collective conditions that would stimulate honest, conscientious and highly effective work and under which material benefits (apartments, automobiles, telephone installation, bonuses, prizes, etc.) would be granted first to those who worked more and better, to war veterans and veterans of labor and to families with many children. The broadest publicity and the active participation of labor collectives must be ensured in the distribution of material benefits.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR demanded that the soviets of peoples deputies eliminate existing deficiencies and sternly punish those guilty of illegal distribution of material benefits. A liberal or indifferent attitude towards violations of rights and the legal interests of citizens must be looked upon as direct connivance with and pandering to violators.

The work of the Kyzyltepinsky Rayon Soviet of Peoples Deputies in implementing decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee on raising the level of effectiveness of agricultural production was examined. It was noted that in 3 years of the 5-year plan the gross production

of agricultural products in the rayon had grown by a factor of 1.5; plans for state purchase of raw cotton, grain and milk are being met. At the same time, from year to year the cost of agricultural products in the rayon has been growing, but the share of manual labor has not been going down. The rayon soviets of people's deputies and their organs are reconciled to this state of affairs; they do not probe deeply into the economic situation of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and they do not evaluate the activities of the enterprises and farms according to quantitative and qualitative indices or according to the principle of maximum result with minimum expenditure.

In a decree that was adopted, the Presidium obligated the Kyzyltepinskiy Rayon Soviet of Peoples Deputies to improve fundamentally the management of the economic and social development of the rayon.

The report of the Fergana Oblispolkom on the implementation of the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "On the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies of the Uzbek SSR to Ensure Implementation of the Requirements of the Legal Code Pertaining to the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood and Awards to Mothers with Many Children" was discussed."

Several other questions about the state life of the republic were also examined in response to which necessary measures were taken.

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REGIONAL

UZBEK CP CC BURO ON COMMUNICATIONS, WATER

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 31 May 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Bureau of the Uzbek CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the Bureau of the Uzbek CP Central Committee examined the question of party organization work in the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Communications in connection with the development of initiative and the raising of the level of responsibility of communists on the staff for implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. It was noted that the activity of the party bureau in this area still does not fully satisfy contemporary demands. The party bureau and shop party organizations do not always analyze their work critically and do not exert the necessary influence on organizing the work of the staff and on improving the accuracy and effectiveness in its activities. The Central Committee Bureau gave specific instructions of the party organization which are aimed at improving its style and methods of operation, teaching ministry employees efficiency and principled and mutually demanding conduct as well as at strengthening party influence in all spheres of management and public life.

The results of the republic meeting-seminar of chairmen of Uzbek village and settlement ispolkoms of the soviets of peoples deputies were summarized. The appropriate organizations were directed to examine the proposals, critical comments and requests voiced by the participants of the meeting-seminar and to organize and to monitor their execution.

At the bureau a decision was made about the additional reduction of management workers in the ranks of the republic's ministries and departments.

The bureau examined questions connected with the running of a specialized exhibition in Tashkent: Means and Methods for the Conservation and Efficient Use of Water Resources—"Irrigation-85."

The Bureau of the Central Committee made the decision to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan in April 1985.

The meeting of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of Uzbekistan also examined other questions of party management of economic and cultural construction in the republic.

## REGIONAL

### UZBEK CP CC BURO DISCUSSES ECONOMY, CINEMA

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 May 84 p 1

/Article: "In the Bureau of the Uzbek CP Central Committee"

/Text/ At a regular meeting, the Bureau of the Uzbek CP Central Committee examined the results of the economic and social development of the Uzbek SSR for the period of January through April of this year. It was noted that for the 4-month period the fulfillment of plans according to the majority of indices was secured for the republic as a whole. At the same time in a number of ministries, associations, enterprises, oblasts, cities and rayons projected plans were not realized completely; there are unutilized reserves and possibilities; and miscalculations and neglect in the work.

The Bureau of the Uzbek CP Central Committee obliged obkoms of the party, ministries, departments, and soviet, economic and social organizations to eliminate existing shortcomings in the work of the branches of the economy and to make up in the second quarter for the first quarter arrears and also to increase the demands on managers for the state of labor, plan and technical discipline and to provide for a rise in production rates that would without doubt permit the fulfillment of the 1984 plan and other socialist obligations.

The meeting of the bureau discussed the question of the subsequent raising of the ideological and artistic level of films and the strengthening of the material and technical foundation of republic cinematography. The decree adopted on this question provides a series of measures aimed at activating the creative forces of the workers of the movie industry in producing films that reveal the rich spiritual world of Soviet man and raise timely questions about improving the development of socialism. Measures are projected to improve movie services for the population and to strengthen the materials and supplies of cinematography.

The bureau examined proposals, requests and critical comments which were expressed by participants of the 15th plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and forwarded them for action to the appropriate party committees, ministries and departments.

The pace of fulfilling the previously adopted decree about the future raising of the technical level and the quality of machinery and equipment for

agriculture and the improvement of its utilization was reviewed. Attention was paid to the necessity of taking measures concerning the output of certain types of agricultural equipment. The bureau directed party and soviet agencies and managers of the appropriate ministries and departments to take measures aimed at a decisive rise in the level of equipment for agriculture and at an improvement in the utilization and maintenance of equipment at kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The bureau also examined several other questions about party and economic construction on which appropriate decisions were made.

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## REGIONAL

### UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET DEPUTY RECALLED FOR GRAFT

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 June 1984 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by M. Sadvakasov from Balykchinskiy Rayon titled "Recalled from the Soviet for Breach of Trust." The article's narrative begins with a special session of electors from the Balykchinskiy Rayon's Electoral Okrug No. 133, convoked for the purpose of recalling Dadakhan Malikov, rayon committee first secretary and deputy of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet.

The unusual nature of the meeting is stressed by quoting elder Khodzhimurat aka Khakimov who, during all his long life, cannot remember such a thing as a deputy from his okrug being recalled. "Soviet people have a boundless trust in their native government. They know how devotedly and solicitously it serves their interests and values...That is why it has become the norm for communist bloc and non-party candidates to be elected to their positions of authority by all voters, with the exception of only one one-hundredth of a percentage point."

The account then traces the process by which Malikov, who "at first worked purposefully and worthily," slowly became corrupted. Having made one mistake, maintains the article's author, Malikov was encouraged by the silence of his colleagues to think that such small sins could be easily dismissed. This is, however, a dangerous attitude for a trusted deputy of the people.

Without delving further into the nature of Malikov's first mistake, the author moves directly to the more serious reasons for Malikov's removal from office. "Having adequate living space for himself and his family, he retained a four-room house in Andizhan. In 1982 he obtained illegal permission and had another house with three rooms and a veranda built on the same plot." He paid wholesale rather than retail prices for the house's construction and engaged a bus to transport materials from Balykchi to Andizhan for a period of three months. Exploiting his position, Malikov also had a house built for the family of his daughter in the village of Chinabad in the same rayon.

The oblast party committee's buro reprimanded him when his misdeeds came to light, and ordered that he give up the house in Andizhan and eliminate the results of his violations. But the committee failed to follow-up its order, allowing Malikov to retain the house by allocating it to his wife and children.

"Perhaps," Sadvakasov suggests rhetorically, "things were going so well in the rayon which Malikov governed and which he represented in the republic Supreme Soviet, that such heightened interest in his personal and familial affairs could be justified."

On the contrary. Agricultural development in the rayon is very low. Cotton purchases have not met the plan for three years. Last year out of fourteen farms in the rayon only one fulfilled the plan. The quality of cotton in the rayon has grown steadily worse. In the area of animal husbandry the reprehensible practice of plan fulfillment by buying from the populace has become widespread. In 1983 the rayon's kolkhozes managed to fulfill the plan for the sale of meat to the state by buying the entire amount from the people. The cattle so purchased had not been fattened or allowed to reach full growth. To purchase it the rayon's kolkhozes spent 2,611,000 rubles in 1982 and in 1983 they spent 3,151,000 rubles. And all this was by means of bank credits and money received toward the payment of kolkhoz workers' wages. Payment of the kolkhoz workers was accomplished only by withholding large amounts. This all was reflected on the rayon's economic indicators. By January 1984 the rayon's indebtedness to Gosbank was around thirteen million rubles. Only one kolkhoz has money in its bank account. The others all owe it.

It was a serious violation of state discipline, Sadvakasov continues, that a considerable portion of the production received from cotton was not directed toward the industrial processing of the material in accordance with the plan, but rather went to the farms, allegedly for animal husbandry. This creates the appearance of well-being, while concealing shortcomings in this area and creating conditions for theft of socialist property as well as having a negative effect on the labor activeness of rural workers.

"Well, perhaps at least in Malikov's electoral okrug other social problems were solved," suggests the author once again. "This is not at all the case... There is a shortage of living space. The village soviet has before it around a hundred complaints. The little, old consumer services home is housed in an ancient building. There is no real banya. Natural gas has been supplied to the rayon, but it has not yet reached the village. Only slightly more than fifteen percent of children go to permanent kindergardens because of lack of space. All schools work in two shifts, while the number of school children continues to grow from year to year."

Sadvakasov concludes the article with the observation that, though the vote to recall Malikov was unanimous, the electorate should have sounded the alarm much sooner.

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### IDEOLOGICAL BENEFIT OF TOURIST SERVICES STRESSED

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 30 May 84 p 2

[AzeriNFORM article: "Provide Reliable Ideologic Support to Tourist-servicing Organizations"]

[Text] Today, with an intense, truly global struggle of two ideologies being waged the world over, renewing, enriching and updating ideological and educational work and enhancing the aggressiveness of all our propaganda has become a task of primary importance. These theses, which were put forward by the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, necessitate a further activization in the ideopolitical tenor of agitprop work conducted by the tourism and excursion organizations of the republic. Questions relating to the intensification and improvement of their activities as laid down by the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee were discussed at a republic seminar-conference.

The seminar was declared open by chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Trade Unions Council L.Kh.Rasulova.

Chairman of the republic Council for Tourism and Excursions G.E. Zeynalov delivered the keynote speech.

Speakers at the seminar noted that tourist and excursion work has of late risen to a qualitatively new level. Its role in the communist education of the masses has increased, the geography of tourist routes and the thematic variety of excursions have expanded. Scores of new excursion sites have been commissioned. All this has led to a doubling in the number of tourists and excursionists serviced during the current five-year plan.

Nevertheless, the level and scope of tourist and excursion work in the republic do not as yet adequately conform to the directives of the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. This was accentuated by the CPAz Central Committee decree "On measures to strengthen the ideopolitical tenor of information and political work conducted by the tourist and excursion organizations of the republic". The decree points out that in their work these organizations quite often do not take into account the higher cultural and educational level of the Soviet people and the intensification of the ideological struggle on the international arena. The opportunities inherent in tourism and excursions are not utilized to the full in

ideological, moral and patriotic education, the propaganda of the Soviet way of life and in counterpropaganda work.

The work of tourist and excursion organizations must be subordinated in its entirety to instilling in the masses a communist world outlook, to the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist ideals and to the task of educating Soviet toilers on the basis of the revolutionary, military, internationalist and labor traditions of the party and the people, and nurturing in them an implacable attitude toward bourgeois propaganda.

An important element in the activation of tourist and excursion work is the selection, deployment and education of cadres. In so doing, it must be kept in mind that the tourist guide is a soldier of the ideological front whose performance depends on his cultural level, ideological conviction and professional ability.

Subjected to discussion were various aspects of improving the quality of excursion work, utilizing its possibilities more actively to spread knowledge of history, the achievements of Soviet culture and the cultural heritage of the Azerbaijani people. Special attention was devoted to the popularization of tourism and excursions in schools.

The seminar was addressed by chief of the Propaganda and Agitation department of the CPAz Central Committee A.F. Dashdamirov.

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### AZERBAIJAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY HOLDS PLENUM

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 24 May 84 p 2

[Azerinform article: "In the Name of Peace Among Nations"]

[Text] "Thank you for your noble work which serves the cause of strengthening peace and friendship among peoples. Through you I learn a lot about the Soviet Union, a country that I love as much as my native land." These words are from a letter by Mustafa Skaykay, a Lebanese. It is one of the many well-wishing missives received from every corner of the globe by the Azerbaijan Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries.

120 countries, 900 organizations and progressive public figures - such today are the geography and scope of the society's contacts in whose strengthening the toiling masses of our republic actively participate. On May 22 the Azerbaijan Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries met in a plenary session devoted to further improving its work in the matter of acquainting foreign guests with the successes of developed socialism, the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy in our country as exemplified by Soviet Azerbaijan and with the peaceloving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The keynote speech was delivered by the chairman of the presidium of the society Nabi Khazri.

Taking part in the debate were Minister of higher and secondary specialized education K.G.Aliyev, Hero of Socialist Labor, oil-derrick operator of the Ali-Bairamly petroleum-drilling operations association A.M.Amanov, chairman of the State Committee for publishing houses, printing plants and the book trade AzSSR N.S.Ibragimov, secretary of the board of the Azerbaijan Union of Composers, People's Artist of the Azerbaijan SSR T.A.Kuliyev, chief of the petroleum and gas extracting association imeni Serebrovskiy F.A. Musayev, party committee secretary of the Baku home air conditioners plant N.A.Khasmamedova, chairman of the Baku gorispolkom N.Kh.Akhmedov, deputy chairman of the Sumgait gorispolkom A.Sh.Gasanov and chairman of the Tazapir mosque A.Kh.Zeynalov.

The plenum stressed that today, when the Reagan administration has induced a worsening of the international situation and an intense, truly global struggle of the two ideologies is being fought the world over, it is especially important to bring to all the peoples the great truth about the Soviet way of life, about the tireless struggle for peace being waged by our country. This cause is well served by the organization abroad of Soviet Days as exemplified by the Azerbaijan SSR. A vivid demonstration of our republic's achievements, these have been held in 30 countries over the past few years. Foreign readers can acquaint themselves with life in our republic from the bulletin SOVIET AZERBAIJAN, published in seven languages, and the newspaper ODLAR YURDU (LAND OF FLAMES).

The activities of the Azerbaijan society, plenum speakers noted, which were given high marks by the presidium of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, is many-sided: they are oriented toward implementation of the tasks set by the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in the field of ideological and political-educational work. Special attention is devoted to explaining abroad the new Soviet peace initiatives, the international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state as set forth so compellingly in the speeches of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet comrade K.U.Chernenko.

The plenum noted that the work of the Azerbaijan Friendship Society is shouldered by a broad aktiv. Serving as primary organizations for 27 republic, city and rayon branches of Soviet friendship societies are 550 industrial and agricultural enterprises, scientific and cultural institutions which unite over half a million toilers. The society annually organizes up to 150 proceedings related to the internationalist education of the toilers of Azerbaijan, hosts thousands of foreign tourists and scores of delegations from abroad.

All this is conducive to a better knowledge by more and more people from different countries of our republic and its successes in communist construction.

Maintaining that the current international situation demands the further consolidation and development of ties between peoples, the plenum's participants emphasized that in this respect the Azerbaijan society still has a lot of work to do. In particular, informational activities must be expanded and the quality of printed matter and other materials destined for shipment abroad must be raised to a higher level.

The plenum adopted a resolution aimed at further perfecting the work of the Azerbaijan Friendship Society.

Taking part in the session were secretary of the CPAz Central Committee R.E.Mekhtiyev, member of the CPAz Central Committee Bureau O.A.Bagirov, chairwoman of the Trade Unions Council AzSSR L.Kh.Rasulova and chief of the Foreign Relations Department of the CPAz Central Committee R.A.Abutalybov.

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### BOOK VIEWS WEST'S POLICIES IN LITHUANIA 1917-1940

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Apr 84 (signed to press 28 Apr 84) pp 93-95

[Review by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Rubtsov, docent of the Department of USSR History, Yaroslavl State University, of book in the Lithuanian language: "Litva v planakh imperialisticheskikh gosudarstv v 1917-1940 gg." [Lithuania in the Plans of the Imperialist States During 1917-1940] by Prof R. Zhugzhda, doctor of historical sciences, of Vilnius State University imeni V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas, Vilnius, Mokslas, 1983, 181 pages: "Unmasking Imperialist Plans"]

[Text] In recent years, the attention of Soviet Lithuania's historians increasingly frequently turns to the period of 1917-1940 to the question of the role of the imperialist powers in the counterrevolutionary intervention against the Soviet state, to the expansionist plans of the imperialists in the Baltic and so on.

A recently published opus by Professor R. Zhyugzhda, doctor of historical sciences, of Vilnius State University imeni V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas, belongs among such works. The task set by the author was "...to determine the place of bourgeois Lithuania and its role in the plans of the imperialist powers during 1917-1940" is quite well-grounded (p 11). There has so far been no generalizing research in Soviet historiography involving the whole aggregate of questions relating to the international position of the bourgeois Lithuanian state in the period between wars.

The events of those years show that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers were oppressors of the peoples of the Baltic. R. Zhyugzhda's monograph is distinguished by a high theoretical level and unmask the real plans of the ruling circles of Germany, England, France, the United States and Poland in regard to Lithuania.

Bourgeois historians of Western countries up to the present time have not wished to acknowledge that the ruling circles of the great powers were guided in their policy solely by aggressive aims. They attempt to distort historical facts and to remain silent concerning the attempts of the state and military figures of their countries to draw Lithuania into the ventures they undertook against the Land of the Soviets.

The author of the book had to do a laborious job connected with studying a mass of documents of the former diplomatic department kept in the Lithuanian SSR Central State Archives of Soviet and foreign periodical publications, document collections as well as the most recent publications of Soviet and foreign authors.

Even toward the end of 1917, the English, French and American imperialists proposed to use the Baltic countries as a springboard for an attack on Soviet Russia. With this aim, the imperialists of the countries of the Entente, establishing conditions for a truce with Germany, demanded that German occupation troops blocking movement of the revolution to the West temporarily remain in Lithuania and the other Baltic countries.

The author showed what an interest was shown by the Anglo-French imperialists in the creation of a bourgeois Lithuanian state and how the military missions of England, France and the United States operated in Lithuania. The imperialist powers, hoping that the counterrevolutionary generals would win a victory in Russia with the help of the interventionists and recognized bourgeois Lithuania de facto, that is, they recognized that the government of the nationalist bourgeoisie in Lithuania was not adequately stable. And only in 1922, when all the attempts to overthrow the Soviet power in Russia had failed, did they agree to a juridical recognition of Lithuania.

A special place in the monograph is occupied by the Klaypeda and Vilnius questions. The question of Polish-Lithuanian relations was constantly discussed in the Council of the League of Nations. But the decisions, resolutions and recommendations they adopted actually reflected the point of view of England and France--the most influential of its members. Their efforts were aimed at the creation of a cordon of countries contiguous to the Soviet state whose purpose was to deprive it of the possibility of establishing economic and political contacts with the West. The Lithuanian-Polish conflict served as a serious obstacle in the way of accomplishment of this policy. It was necessary to satisfy the demands of Poland and also to oblige Lithuania to reconcile itself to the seizure of Vilnius by White Poles.

In this connection, the author dwells on the talks being conducted in Brussels and Geneva on the return of Vilnius to Lithuania under the conditions of a federation in which Poland would be assigned the leading role. But this attempt to reconcile both sides ended in failure: the Lithuanian ruling circles were unable to forego the interests of the bourgeoisie, while the popular masses were for the preservation of Lithuania's national independence. Contradictions between England and France also largely contributed to the refusal of the Lithuanian ruling circles to accept the proposed conditions. The former did not want to permit the absolute subordination of Lithuania to Poland. Poland in turn demanded unequivocal subordination of Lithuania. The Polish-Lithuanian conflict continued to the beginning of 1938, exacerbating the international situation in this region of Europe.

The attention of the readers is directed to most interesting material on the January "insurrection" of 1923 in Klaypeda and to the subsequent legalization of this act by the Council of Ambassadors. R. Zhyuzhda shows with archival materials that the so-called "insurrection" had been inspired from Lithuania and took place with the support of regular army units of bourgeois Lithuania.

Examining the international position of Lithuania in organic connection with the deepening of Franco-German and Anglo-French contradictions and also taking into consideration the foreign-policy aspects of all the countries, R. Zhyugzhda disclosed the true designs of the diplomacy of the Entente countries for bringing bourgeois Lithuania into the orbit of their influence, utilizing in this connection the question of ownership not only of the port of Klaypeda but of the whole region.

The author devotes considerable space to the role of the Klaypeda region in German-Lithuanian relations during 1923-1939. The German imperialist circles following the union of the entire Klaypeda region with Lithuania did not give up their claims to this territory. They applied major efforts for Germanizing the region's population.

Relying on rich factual material, R. Zhyugzhda describes the peace-loving policy of the Soviet state and its friendly feelings for the Lithuanian people. The monograph points out the historical significance for the Lithuanian people of the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of 12 July 1920 between Soviet Russia and Lithuania. With this treaty the Soviet government was the first to recognize the independence of the Lithuanian state and thus helped bourgeois Lithuania become a member of international society, which fact Lithuania's neighbors had to take into account.

The Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty on Nonaggression and Neutrality of 28 September 1926 was a manifestation of love of peace and friendship toward the Lithuanian people. It made Lithuania's international position more stable and ruined the plans of the imperialist powers for involving Lithuania in antisoviet ventures. The Treaty of Transfer to Lithuania of the City of Vilnius and Its Region of October 1939 was also of historical importance. As we know, Vilnius was liberated by units of the Red Army on 19 September 1939.

The Soviet state in many instances provided assistance and support to the Lithuanian people in the international arena and more than once saved Lithuania from attack by the German imperialists and the Polish militarists. In the face of the growing threat of aggression for many countries of Europe, first of all for states neighboring with Germany, the USSR government made a proposal on creating a system of collective security in Europe and tried to create a regional Eastern Pact in which Lithuania would take part.

The advent of the fascists to power in Germany, the fascistization of the German national minority in Lithuania sharply intensified the threat to Lithuania. But the measures undertaken by the government of Lithuania against Nazi organizations of the Klaypeda region were responded to by Germany with an almost total cessation of Lithuanian exports to Germany and their transit across German territory. In March 1939, the Hitlerites, taking advantage of the powerlessness of the government of bourgeois Lithuania and the threat of bringing their troops into Lithuania, forced it to turn over the Klaypeda region to Germany.

During the difficult time for bourgeois Lithuania, the English and French governments unequivocally let the government of Lithuania understand that it could not count on assistance from England and France against Hitler's aggression.

It is shown in the monograph how the government of bourgeois Lithuania, headed by A. Smetona, took step upon step on the path of rapprochement with Hitler's Germany. Through the betrayal of their people, the fascist rulers of Lithuania hoped to curry favor with the Hitlerites.

Under conditions of betrayal of the vital interests of the Lithuanian people by A. Smetona's government and the growing danger of Hitler's aggression, a broad antifascist front was quickly created in Lithuania. By the spring of 1940, a revolutionary situation began to develop in Lithuania. The culminating point of the revolutionary struggle of the Lithuanian people was reached in the summer of 1940. It culminated, as R. Zhyugzhda points out in his conclusions, by the decisive overthrow in Lithuania of the bourgeois dictatorship and the fascist regime (p 172). With restoration of the Soviet power in Lithuania and its becoming a part of the USSR decisively destroyed the predatory plans of imperialist reaction in regard to Lithuania and the Lithuanian people--the author concludes his monograph (p 172).

A lively form of exposition makes the monograph accessible for mass reading. True, the author was not equally successful in everything. He paid relatively little attention to the attempts of the imperialist powers to include Lithuania in the antisoviet Baltic Alliance created by them. For the sake of fairness, it is necessary to point out that this question was investigated rather thoroughly by the author's predecessors, but only to 1925. In this regard, the elucidation of the little studied question in Soviet historiography of plans for the creation of such an alliance after 1925 and the participation of Lithuania in it would be of special interest to the reader.

In our view, the machinations of the ruling circles of England, France and the United States should be exposed in greater detail. They did everything possible that they could to postpone Lithuania's de jure recognition.

In subjecting to a detailed analysis of the international position of Lithuania during 1917-1930 and the plans of the imperialist powers, the author for some reason concentrated his main attention, beginning with 1929, on the relations of Lithuania with Germany and Poland and examines only through the prism of these relations the subsequent policy of the great powers in Lithuania.

The aforesaid comments do not reduce interest in the monograph, which deserves a positive appraisal. The reader has received a study, saturated with a multitude of interesting and important facts and conclusions, helping to understand the superiority of socialism and the importance of proletarian internationalism in international relations.

It would be desirable for the book to be published in the Russian language. This would make it accessible for everyone wishing to become familiar with Lithuania's historical past and with certain aspects of the foreign policy of the ruling circles of England, France, the United States, Germany and Poland in the East-European region of Europe in the period between the two world wars.

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## REGIONAL

### BRIEFS

AZERBAIJAN AKTIV HELD ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK--The progress of implementation of the decisions of the July 1983 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks on further strengthening ideological mass political work were discussed today at a meeting of the Azerbaijan ideological aktiv in Baku today. It was underlined in the report by Comrade Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the republican Communist Party; and in speeches made that, on the basis of the experience accumulated and taking account of the practice gained in moral education, a many-faceted system for guiding educational work to strengthen socialist labor discipline has been worked out in the republic. All links in the party apparatus are involved in this, from the Central Committee and its ideological commission, to party committees at the grassroots. Speakers, nevertheless, mentioned the shortcomings that exist. In particular, the style and methods of mass political and propaganda work must be improved and its scientific validity, systematic aspects and effectiveness must be enhanced, and links with the needs of social practice must be reinforced. [Text] [LD251522 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Jun 84]

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